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## ABSTRACT

The papers in this collection describe how education is being reinvented in urban school systems in the United States. Selections discuss the urban landscape, the social context of schooling, and the theory and practice of multiculturalism. Papers include: (1) "Introduction: Reinventing Urban Education" (Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz); (2) "The Multicultural Population of New York City: A Socioeconomic Profile of the Mosaic" (Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz); (3) "Strategic Environmental Factors Constraining Fiscal Resources in Urban Schools: The Case of New York City" (Craig E. Richards, Donna Merritt, and Tian Ming Sheu); (4) "Social Capital, Community Collaboration, and the Restructuring of Schools" (Calvin Stone and Gary Wehlage); (5) "The Community-Based Organization in an Urban Education Setting: Implications for Urban Policy Development" (Bruce Anthony Jones); (6) "School Choice: A Critical Review of the Literature" (Cecilia A. Conrad and Janet Alperstein); (7) "Addressing the Continuities and Discontinuities between Family and School for Ethnic Minority Children" (Sharon Nelson-Le Gall); (8) "New Curriculum Developments: An Investigative Survey of New York City's Community School Districts' Response to the Chancellor's Plan for Multicultural Education" (Pamela M. Crowley and Maria L. Garcia); (9) "Towards a Consciously Multicultural Mathematics Curriculum" (Walter G. Secada); (10) "Spanish as a Second School Language: Adding Language to the Discourse of Multicultural Education" (Josue M. Gonzalez); (11) "Professional Development for an Education That Is Multicultural: The Cross-Cultural Interdisciplinary Cooperative Learning (CICL) Model" (Marietta Saravia-Shore); and (12) "African American and Hispanic Women in Higher Education: Myths and Reality" (Dawn R. Person). References follow each chapter. (Contains 1 figure and 42 tables.) (SLD)

ED 397 161

# REINVENTING URBAN EDUCATION

Multiculturalism and the  
Social Context of Schooling

UD03/038

Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz

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**REINVENTING URBAN EDUCATION**

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URBAN  
EDUCATION**

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**Multiculturalism and the  
Social Context of Schooling**

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Teachers College, Columbia University  
Editor**

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## PREFACE

**P. Michael Timpane**

**President**

**Teachers College, Columbia University**

In contemporary educational policy discourse, we commonly hear that "the devil is in the details." For the topics covered in this book, however—multicultural education, the social context of urban schools, and school choice—the opposite may be true. The devil may lie in the generalities—in the tendency of the commentators representing the various "centricities" to cast the issues as the struggle of competitive world views and cultures for intellectual control of the schools. With these pronouncements come condemnations of opponents as, on the one hand, racist, or, on the other hand, practitioners of a politics of correctness. No wonder that the discourse at this level is rarely constructive.

One of the virtues of the essays here is that they present an alternative to this arid debate, and assert that, for many of these issues, salvation (rather than the devil) may lie in the details. It is most helpful indeed that this volume starts off with a detailed analysis of the changing demographic and social structures of the schools in New York City, showing us a magnificent and growing polyglot, changing over time and diverse within and among the traditional categories of race, national origin, and gender. It is a fact that multicultural New York exists and that its schools are already multicultural in providing its diverse students with the tools for political and economic progress. Multiculturalism, we must

understand, is not so much a policy decision as an inevitability.

Other essays are studded with examples of this truth: namely, that multicultural education is, in fact, coming into existence in New York City and in many other school districts in the nation; that our educational progress will be best served not by *a priori* pronouncements on what should be done, but by careful examination of what is being done, both conceptually and practically, to put together the curricular and programmatic mosaic that will be a multicultural education in our contemporary world. Here we can glimpse how multicultural mathematics is not a caricature of political correctness, but rather a practical necessity for strengthening mathematics for all students, if they are to survive and flourish in our nation. Here we are reminded, in reviews of curricula and professional development activities, that multicultural aspects of education will develop gradually and, most of all, locally, as school staffs and communities become able to understand and integrate these perspectives into their lives and institutions. We are reminded, as well, that our nation has a dismal record in language education (starting with Spanish), which serves it particularly poorly as the country becomes the world's most prominent multicultural entity.

Moving beyond multiculturalism, other essays spell out the daunting difficulties of urban schooling: the tremendous fiscal strain exerted by the numbers of children, but also by the incidences of poverty and recent immigration, as well as by the incidences of serious and costly pathologies, such as pediatric AIDS and pandemic drug abuse in surrounding communities. We learn of the need for participation in community-wide collaborations by parents and families, business communities, social welfare agencies, community-based organizations—indeed, by all the adults in the community—to provide any hope for success. Here too we have a superb review of the evidence and issues surrounding school choice, which, by its very sobriety, puts to rest any notion that this policy may be a panacea for the students, schools, and, communities described so vividly in the remainder of the volume.

Like politics (as the late Tip O'Neill said), all education is ultimately local. In New York City and elsewhere, this means that all education is and will be increasingly multicultural. Each locality, each school community, will work out the local meaning of this imperative, probably blissfully oblivious of the rhetorical salvos passing over its head.



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After many years of neglect, the plight of urban areas in the United States has once again emerged as a major topic in the press and in the public policy agenda, and urban education is seen as a key factor in improving the socioeconomic status of central city residents. It is the purpose of this book to present the most recent developments in urban education research and practice.

The volume gathers the work of scholars and practitioners from many social science and education areas, ranging from economics and psychology to multicultural education and educational administration. The first drafts of most of the papers included here were presented at the Teachers College Conference on Urban Education, held at Teachers College in New York City on July 6-16, 1992. This conference was sponsored by the Institute for Urban and Minority Education (IUME) at Teachers College with the assistance of the Office of the President and the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching at Teachers College.

The authors benefited from the valuable comments of discussants at the conference as well as from the interaction with other paper presenters. They included: John P. Allegrante, Carol Ascher, Thomas Bailey, James Banks, Charles S. Benson, Sue E. Berryman, James Bliss, George Bond, Joseph Bowman, Curtis Branch, Stephan Brumberg, Robert Burciaga Valdez, José Cárdenas, Peter Cookson, Clement Cottingham, Robert Crain, Josh DeWind, Joyce Epstein, Erwin Flaxman, Celia Genishi, Edmund W. Gordon, Joseph Grannis, Stephen Hamilton, Diane Harrington, Paul Hill, Jonathan Hughes, Grace Ibañez-Friedman, Joanne Kleifgen, Bayer Lee, Joel Levine, Bruce Lincoln, Lorraine McDonnell,

L. Scott Miller, Jacob Mincer, Vernay Mitchell, Richard J. Murnane, Dale Mann, Sarah Nieves, Gary Natriello, Patricia Raskin, the Hon. Luis O. Reyes, Abby Robyn, Cicely Rodway, Hawthorne Smith, James Smith, María Torres-Guzmán, Rafael Valdivieso, Amy Stuart Wells, and Edward K. Yi.

We acknowledge the financial assistance of the Office of the President of Teachers College, Columbia University. The President of Teachers College, P. Michael Timpane, was a wholehearted supporter of this project and we are deeply indebted to him. In addition, without the organizational and administrative skills of Susan Despins and Paula Russell-Hendricks the conference would have never been possible. The efficient typing of Anabelle Guerrero and the patient editing of Wendy Schwartz made the completion of the manuscript possible.

All of the chapters of this volume represent in one way or another the state of the art in urban education research and practice. We hope that they will stimulate further discussion and research on urban education.

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## INTRODUCTION: REINVENTING URBAN EDUCATION

Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz

Perhaps nothing summarizes best the quagmire of urban education than the recent remarks of New York State Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol, when he said that "New York state has two distinct types of school systems—one urban, minority, poor and failing, and the other suburban, White, affluent and successful" (quoted in Bamabel, 1993, p.B1). While this blunt statement does not take into account the significant variations occurring within urban and suburban areas, it acknowledges the stark contrasts that exist today between many urban and suburban schools in America. Sharp differences in racial and ethnic composition, economic resources, and student achievement and attainment underlie the gaps in urban and suburban educational landscapes that are associated with what author Jonathan Kozol has called *Savage Inequalities*.

Given the current plight of urban education, how can urban schools provide all students with an effective education? The chapters in this book present some of the latest research and practice in this field. In effect, they describe how urban education is being reinvented. From multicultural curriculum reform in mathematics and social studies to community and parent involvement in schools, the authors in this book delineate the areas where education is being reshaped in urban America.

## THE URBAN LANDSCAPE: SOCIOECONOMIC DIVERSITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS

The first two chapters of this volume, by Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz and by Craig Richards, Donna Merritt and Tian Ming Sheu, set the stage by presenting the socioeconomic and environmental constraints within which urban schools operate. The setting of these papers is New York City.

### The New York City Model

In my paper, I examine the demographic, social, economic, and educational changes that occurred in New York during the 1980s. The racial and ethnic makeup of the City underwent a dramatic change in the last decade. More than ever before, in the 1980s and early 1990s New York became a highly complex mosaic of diverse populations, many new to the American demographic scene. From 1982 to 1992, close to one million immigrants from over 160 countries moved to the City. According to the U.S. Census of Population, 28.4 percent of New Yorkers in 1990 were born in a foreign country. In spite of New York's growing diversity, sharp inequality persists here, inequality that has resulted in a polarization by race and to some extent ethnicity. The polarization is reflected in the extent of residential segregation, which continues at very high levels and appears to be rising.

There is also sharp income inequality. In terms of income per-capita, Blacks in New York City had 46.8 percent of the per-capita income of Whites in 1989 (\$10,894 for Blacks versus \$23,276 for Whites). Hispanics had 36.6 percent of White income per-capita; and Asians 57.1 percent of White income per-capita. For particular ethnic and racial groups, the magnitude of the differences in income within the City are huge. For instance, in 1989 the per-capita income of Puerto Ricans was equal to \$8,083 while that of persons with Russian ancestry was \$29,990. Individuals of Puerto Rican ancestry in New York City thus had an average of 26.9 percent of the per-capita income of persons of Russian ancestry. The gap is worse for persons from the Dominican Republic, whose per-capita income of \$6,336 is the lowest in New York City.

Various factors determine these income differences. Demographic shifts in population, related to immigration and emigration, explain some of them. However, the strongest force is education. The racial and ethnic

diversity of educational attainment in New York is as great as that of economic outcomes. Indeed, the two are highly correlated. According to Census figures, in 1990 as much as 33.6 percent of the White population in New York had completed college and only 20.5 percent lacked a high school diploma. On the other hand, only 8.8 percent of the Hispanic population in 1990 was completing college and as much as 51.3 percent did not have a high school diploma. Among Blacks, the situation is slightly better, with 12.8 percent having completed college and 33.8 percent having no high school diploma. Among Asians, the distribution of education appears to be bimodal, with a comparatively high proportion of people having a college degree *and* also a high proportion not completing high school. As much as 35 percent of the Asian population had completed college in 1990, but 30.1 percent had not finished high school.

The Dominican population has the lowest educational attainment in New York. Only 6.1 percent had a college degree in 1990 and as much as 61.7 percent had not completed high school, the highest such level for any group in the city. People from the Puerto Rico follow Dominicans at the bottom of the educational ladder in New York, with only 6.5 percent of that population having completed college in 1990 and 53.5 percent having no high school diploma or certificate. Both Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are also at the bottom of the economic ladder in New York.

The second half of the 1980s was a time of economic boom in New York, and the average earnings of workers in New York City increased. However, this economic progress was not equally shared: the wages of those who did not complete high school declined during the same time period (adjusting for inflation). By contrast, for people with a college education the income changes in the 1980s were highly positive. For college graduates, for example, the earnings improvement was substantial: For men, earnings went up by 23.5 percent; among women, the increase was 30.1 percent.

In my chapter, I show New York City at the crossroads of major demographic, social, and economic changes. These changes move the city dangerously in a spiral of growing inequality by race and ethnicity. This growing inequality has also been documented for urban areas in the rest of the nation. At the center of this spiral is education. Increased educational requirements in the economy, combined with deteriorating educational achievement among the poorest, have worsened the income of racial and ethnic minorities compared to the White population. Since

schooling is closely related to the growing spiral of inequality, increased educational attainment should be at the crux of attempts to break the spiral.

### Urban Education Trends

In their chapter, Richards, Merritt, and Sheu provide a dismal picture of the possibilities for increased educational attainment among urban and minority children, given recent trends. The educational achievement of children is closely determined by the learning conditions and social support provided by their community. A cornerstone of community involvement is the public sector. Richards, Merritt, and Sheu argue that the recent trends in public sector expenditures on education and social services spell trouble for the education of children in urban areas. Using New York City as a case study, they describe the current state of the clientele and the expenditures on a variety of public sector programs impacting children. They then carry forecasts forward until the year 2000.

Actual operating expenditures per pupil in New York City schools in 1992 were \$962 less than those in the rest of the state. Richards, Merritt, and Sheu estimate that by the year 2000 New York City will be spending \$2,402 less per pupil than the average of the remainder of New York State (adjusting for inflation). They thus predict a widening gap in the educational resources received by children in New York City relative to the rest of the state. This is a troubling prospect because recent evidence suggests that, holding other variables constant, greater educational resources are related to improved educational attainment and labor market performance.<sup>1</sup> This relationship has not gone unnoticed and there are currently two separate lawsuits challenging the equity of New York State's school finance in relation to New York City.

Richards, Merritt, and Sheu study trends and future prospects for a variety of social programs. The picture of New York City that emerges is one of "a city at risk." Following current trends, they predict that, in terms of support for students with language needs, financial difficulties, and health needs, a growing shortfall of resources is likely to develop

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<sup>1</sup> See Harter and Rivera-Batiz (1993), Card and Krueger (1992), Ferguson (1991), and Barton, Coley, and Goertz (1991). The issue of whether greater spending on education actually pays off in terms of greater student achievement has been a matter of great debate (see, for instance, Wainer, 1993, Hanushek, 1989, and Murnane, 1975).



over the next decade. They conclude that "if current trends continue, it is likely that the year 2000 will hold even less opportunity for urban children to succeed than is offered at present."

Richards, Merritt, and Sheu suggest that local, state and federal efforts be increased to maintain adequate support services for the at-risk children of New York City. They observe that micro-level progress can be made, with programs such as the one developed by Yale psychologist and educator James Comer that: (1) integrate broad-based social services into schools, (2) are administered by decentralized school-based management, (3) involve the community in a collaborative approach to improving educational outcomes, and (4) engage teachers in understanding the cultural and social context of their diverse students. It is the purpose of other chapters in the book to discuss these micro-level approaches in detail, specifying why and how they work.

As we have summarized the chapters in this section provide an overview of the socioeconomic milieu and environmental constraints facing urban children and schools. The following section of the book includes chapters that show how the social context of schooling influences educational outcomes.

### **THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING: DESIGNING COMMUNITIES OF SUPPORT**

To reform urban education effectively, one must go beyond the schools. The social and economic context within which schools operate is a key determinant of how much influence school-based reforms can have on educational outcomes. The constraints imposed by family background and community surroundings on the lives of children are not eliminated when children enter school. The type of school itself—and the associated school system—that urban children and parents have available is determined by socioeconomic and policy variables. The chapters in this section examine various aspects of the social, economic, and political context of schooling. Calvin Stone and Gary Wehlage and Bruce Anthony Jones focus on the role of community and community-based organizations. The chapter by Cecilia Conrad and Janet Alperstein studies the controversy over school choice and its possible contribution—or lack of it—to urban education. Finally, the paper by Sharon Nelson-Le Gall looks at issues of family and culture.

### Community Partnerships

Effective schools are those that provide students with a community of support. These schools represent high-status organizations in the community and attract the participation of parents and children, the state, and the private sector in a dynamic collaboration.<sup>2</sup> In their chapter, Stone and Wehlage propose an encompassing collaboration of this kind as a basis for urban schools. Their proposal is based on the use of parents, community organizations, social services, and the private sector to strengthen both schools and the youth they serve. The objective is to develop "social capital" in youth, their parents, schools, and the community overall.

Social capital is a concept introduced by James Coleman (1988) to refer to the social and organizational relationships among people that facilitate collective action. In some neighborhoods these relationships thrive in the form of neighborhood associations, parent-school associations, local commerce organizations, and so on. In many urban areas, however, social capital has depreciated badly and it now barely exists in some communities. It is the view of Stone and Wehlage that unless social capital is fostered and augmented at the various levels of the community structure, urban schools will not educate students effectively.

Stone and Wehlage propose that social capital can be increased by creating functional and interactional parent involvement in schools. In many urban schools parent involvement is minimal and—in some cases—hostile. Effective schools promote the involvement of parents in school decision-making (through school-based management or other means) and active participation in educational and non-educational activities in the school. This is one of the factors that Coleman and Hoffer (1987) argue makes Catholic schools more effective than public schools.<sup>3</sup> Stone and Wehlage believe that public school restructuring can reproduce it and capture the social capital generated by strong parent involvement in schools.

Another source of social capital relates to the labor market. Stone and Wehlage note that, for many urban youth, local employment

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<sup>2</sup> There is now ample evidence on this issue. See Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko, and Fernandez (1989) and Comer (1988).

<sup>3</sup> See also the research surveyed by Bempechat (1990).

opportunities are quite limited and the rewards from schooling appear remote. In order to develop the linkages of urban students with the workplace, school-business collaboration needs to be a major cornerstone. Stone and Wehlage suggest that an American version of German apprenticeships be developed that uses workplaces and community settings as learning environments, connects work experience and academic learning more closely, fosters relationships between youth and adult mentors, and guarantees employment opportunities if appropriate achievement standards are attained by graduating students.

The public services supplied to poor urban households are widely scattered and fragmented. Education, health, and other social services are located in dispersed places under a bureaucratic arrangement that is slow to act and lacking in interconnectedness. Stone and Wehlage suggest that public services be provided jointly within the context of a plan that focuses on rebuilding communities. Within this vision, schools would become an integral part of the provision of social services in addition to education.

The picture that emerges from Stone and Wehlage's proposal is one where communities develop comprehensive strategies that combine education, social services and linkages with employment to strengthen the social capital of disadvantaged youth. In developing such a comprehensive approach, one of the most critical institutions to be involved is the community-based organization. In his paper, Bruce Anthony Jones discusses the role of community based organizations in school-community collaboratives.

### Community-Based Organizations

Jones uses data on community-based organizations collected as part of an evaluation of the New York City Attendance Improvement Dropout Prevention (AIDP) Program. This evaluation was carried out by the Institute for Urban and Minority Education (IUME) at Teachers College, Columbia University.<sup>4</sup> In the AIDP program, community-based organizations (CBOs) were called upon to provide services relating to guidance and counseling, health, attendance outreach, and alternative educational activities during and after school. Jones finds that the effectiveness of the CBOs in carrying out their activities was closely

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<sup>4</sup> A detailed presentation of the evaluation is available in Grannis et al. (1988).

related to whether they were indigenous or exogenous. An indigenous CBO is located in the same neighborhood as the school to which it supplies services. Exogenous CBOs, on the other hand, are located outside of the school neighborhood. Jones finds that indigenous CBOs were significantly more successful than the exogenous CBOs in supplying their services. Parent involvement was heavier, individualized attention more frequent, and satisfaction with the program much greater. The reason for the superior performance of the indigenous CBOs, Jones asserts, is their greater experience and familiarity with the community. In the AIDP program, the indigenous CBOs were in a better position to deliver dropout prevention services to the student population at risk of dropping out.

As Jones indicates, independently of the relative success of indigenous CBOs, the IUME evaluation of AIDP found a number of problems and difficulties with the program and a clear lack of success in achieving program goals. Part of the problem lay in the fact that the program, like many other dropout prevention programs, targeted only a select group of public school students and did not attempt to deal with curriculum and teaching issues.

The lack of success of the AIDP program and the continued failure of public education in some urban areas lead to the question of whether a program that allows parents and children the choice of public and private schools would work better than an exclusively public school system.

### School Choice

In their chapter, Conrad and Alperstein review the debate on school choice. School choice initiatives vary but they generally include proposals for open enrollment within districts, transfers between districts, and the use of vouchers to pay for private school education. In principle, Conrad and Alperstein note, economic theory indicates that the allocation of resources is best served by free competition. However, they also point out, this result is derived under a set of assumptions that do not appear to hold in the case of education. The presence of a whole array of market imperfections, informational failures, and externalities suggests that the free market, by itself, is not necessarily the best system for education. Conrad and Alperstein point out that the most likely market structures to emerge under unfettered school choice are monopolistic competition or oligopoly, neither of which provides an efficient allocation of resources

without government intervention. Although introducing a system of vouchers or public school choice may improve education relative to the bureaucratic, centralized system existing in many school districts, there is no theoretical guarantee that choice would work in general.

In terms of data supporting school choice, Conrad and Alperstein again find that evidence on the issue is mixed and ambiguous. Proponents of school choice usually cite three types of evidence to support their claim that choice improves educational attainment: (1) parochial schools achieve better outcomes at lower costs than do public schools, (2) magnet schools increase educational attainment of their students, and (3) experimental programs appear to be a success. Conrad and Alperstein review these claims in detail. They do not find clearcut support for school choice. Studies of parochial and magnet schools, for instance, are plagued by selection bias problems (the most successful schools are also the ones that select the best students to begin with), lack of controls (many magnet school not only allow choice in their admissions but they also often try different curricula or are under some form of school restructuring), and measurement problems. Experiments on choice, such as those in East Harlem, New York, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, are either too limited to support broad-based implications, or too early in the process of development to allow conclusive assessment of their success or failure (as in the case of Minnesota's experiment).

Conrad and Alperstein do not find that the theory and evidence on school choice supports the hypothesis that choice will lead to greater educational attainment.<sup>5</sup> Instead, they conclude that "rather than greater emphasis on individual and family choice... [the evidence] suggests a greater need to tie schools to the functional communities they serve." The paper by Nelson-Le Gall pursues this issue further.

### Cultural Continuity

In her chapter, Nelson-Le Gall argues that it is the cultural interface—the interrelationship between individuals, families, and communities—that determines learning outcomes. She focuses on the interaction of family and school, noting that the culture and learning

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<sup>5</sup> This is a conclusion shared by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1992) and Wells (1993) in other reviews of the research on school choice.

environment of the family often do not coincide with the culture and learning style of the school. This discontinuity between family and school especially affects minority children in urban contexts. Correcting it must be a priority in any effective approach to urban education. This is precisely what a serious multicultural curriculum and teaching reform movement seeks: it leads to a deeper understanding of how school culture meshes or clashes with the student's own culture.

Nelson-Le Gall focuses her attention on African Americans. Following John Ogbu and others, she argues that most African American children in urban areas are growing up and developing in communities that are culturally different from the culture of the broader society. Since the culture of the broader society is reinforced in school, research on these differences is critical to understand the difficulties faced by African American children in urban schools. Patrick Solomon (1992), for instance, studied this issue for West Indian children in a high school in Metropolitan Toronto, Canada. He found that West Indian children had a family environment that encouraged education as a means for economic improvement. However, some of these children, when encountering racially tense—or discriminatory—situations in school developed defensive subcultural patterns that not only placed them in antagonism with authority structures in the school but also led them astray from educational achievement. Use of non-Standard English, over-involvement in sports, violation of school standards on time and place, among other behaviors, were associated with a distrust of school and academics that also resulted in lower educational achievement. This shows, as Nelson-Le Gall emphasizes, that to explain educational outcomes of African American children, it is essential to understand the nature of the interaction between the students and school. Subcultural behavior exhibited by students may be itself a reaction to hostile, or indifferent, school cultural patterns.

In her discussion, Nelson-Le Gall also suggests that analyzing the cultural interface between family, school, and the students may illuminate the divergent educational experience of African American males and females. She presents evidence indicating that the educational attainment of African American men lags behind that of women. For instance, African American males are more likely than African American females to be performing one or more years below the grade. And African American males are far outnumbered by African American females on college campuses. Nelson-Le Gall notes that there is no current evidence



indicating that African American parents encourage their daughters' education at their sons' expense (although she suggests that, historically, priority on the education of women may have existed because "the impact of educational level on employment opportunities was more favorable for African American women than for African American men"). On the other hand, she points out, there is ample research indicating that the interaction of African American children with school varies by gender-although the differences are still permeated by race. There is a need for further research in this area.

As noted, Nelson-Le Gall argues that, in an urban context, culture and learning in the family often do not coincide with culture and learning in school. Effective education must deal with this discontinuity. Multicultural curriculum and teaching reform represents one way through which family and school culture discontinuities can be dealt with. The following section of the volume discusses multiculturalism in detail.

## REINVENTING URBAN EDUCATION: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MULTICULTURALISM

### Multicultural Curriculum Approaches

With close to one million students, the New York City public school system is the largest, and one of the most influential urban education systems in the United States. Over the last few years, New York's public school system has been involved in the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive multicultural education plan. The chapter by Pamela Crowley and Marfa García examines the nature of this plan and the progress of its implementation so far.

Using criteria formulated by James Banks (1990), Crowley and García describe the four approaches to multicultural curriculum development. The *contributions* approach focuses on introducing heroes, holidays, and discrete cultural events. The *additive* approach adds content, concepts, themes, and perspectives to the curriculum without changing the basic curricular structure. The *transformation* approach calls for restructuring the curriculum to enable students to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspective of diverse ethnic and cultural groups. The *social action* approach encompasses all the aspects of the transformation approach plus active student involvement in important social and cultural issues. Using this continuum of multicultural education

commitment and involvement, Crowley and García investigate the response of New York City's Community School Districts to the Chancellor's Action Plan for Multicultural Education. A questionnaire was designed and administered to the 32 Multicultural Education Coordinators in New York City.

Crowley and García find that, although the goal of New York City's initiative towards multicultural education followed the social action approach, in fact most districts engaged in multicultural curriculum development that was contributive and additive in nature. Part of the problem is the lack of funding to implement a broader multicultural reform. Multicultural coordinators in the districts perform multiple other activities that prevent them from allocating adequate time to multicultural reform. Another factor cited by survey respondents was a perceived resistance to the initiative on the part of both radical advocates of multiculturalism and those opposed to it.

Of the content areas where curriculum that is multicultural has been most developed in New York City are social studies and the arts. Physical education, science, math, and foreign language rank last.

### **Multiculturalism and Mathematics**

As the chapter by Crowley and García indicates, one of the fields where multiculturalism has moved much more slowly is mathematics education. In his contribution to this volume, Walter Secada outlines the rationale and ways through which multicultural aspects can be introduced in mathematics education.

Secada starts from the premise that multicultural mathematics education is desirable. Indeed, he makes the argument that the current movement of reform in school mathematics is consistent with multicultural considerations. As he observes: "the argument for the reform in school mathematics is that the curriculum in general requires a complete overhaul to better reflect advances in our knowledge about the nature of mathematics as a discipline and as a tool for reasoning, how students learn mathematics and the mathematics that tomorrow's adults will need in order to participate in the spheres of work, society, and personal empowerment." To succeed in an urban context, mathematics education reform can profit significantly from multiculturalism. Take for example, the goal of developing student reasoning. To do this effectively, students' personal lives must provide settings for the study of mathematics because students who feel included and represented in the



curriculum are more interested in it.<sup>6</sup> Another reason is that the initial, informal knowledge of mathematics that students bring to the school is based on personal experience. And, of course, students' personal lives are shaped by their cultural and socioeconomic background, a great diversity of which exists in urban education. Mathematics education that appeals to this diversity is bound to have a broader-based effect than one which ignores cultural context.

The development of curriculum materials for multicultural mathematics education must proceed very carefully. Secada makes clear that some of the initiatives have gone in the wrong direction. Often, multiculturalism has led to outcomes diametrically opposed to those advocated by the mathematics education reform movement. For instance, the new mathematics education encourages more in-depth coverage of relevant subjects. Some multicultural mathematics attempts have led to the opposite. For instance, the introduction of a multitude of superficial historical examples on how the Egyptians, Incas, Mayas, and so on did mathematics—without providing a context for how these examples relate to today's mathematics—not only trivializes these contributions but also reduces the time available for in-depth coverage of other material more relevant to the students' present and future life. The real challenge for multicultural mathematics, Secada argues, is "to continue the new mathematics curriculum with meaningful and substantial multicultural education."

### Language Instruction

Besides mathematics education, another area that has been incorporated more slowly into multiculturalism is foreign language instruction. In his paper, Josué González argues that the teaching of Spanish as a second school language should be an integral part of the multicultural education movement. His point is that, in contrast to other foreign languages, Spanish is of unique importance for Americans to learn, based on the facts that: (1) Spanish is by far the most commonly used language in the country next to English, (2) Spanish-speaking Latinos constitute one of the largest and most geographically dispersed ethnic groups in the country, with a long history of immigration to

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<sup>6</sup> The argument that motivation is a key factor determining student achievement has been forcefully made by Bishop (1990).

America, and (3) Spanish is required by the cultural and economic ties to Latin America, symbolized by the U.S.-Mexico border.

The importance of learning both Spanish and English as part of a truly multicultural—or bicultural—education has been advocated before, but for some specific Hispanic populations. This is the case, for instance, of the comprehensive study of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. carried out by Pastora San Juan Cafferty and Carmen Rivera-Martinez (1981). These authors noted the continuing connection of Puerto Rican adults with their place of origin in the Island, through travel to visit friends and relatives as well as cyclical migration related to labor market choices, retirement, etc. This means that Puerto Rican children are required to learn both Spanish and English in order to function adequately in the two cultures. As James Coleman observes: "A Puerto Rican child caught up in this movement [of frequent travel between the Island and the mainland] cannot learn only Spanish nor only English, whatever his first language and whatever the dominant language in his school. He must learn both, he must become more able than most of us, because he must survive in two monolingual cultures: Puerto Rico and mainland United States" (San Juan Cafferty & Rivera-Martinez; 1981, p. xi).

This approach, which is the one suggested by González, is different from many bilingual education programs, whose goal is transitional in nature. Instead of seeking to gradually replace the use of Spanish with English, González's proposal is to encourage the preservation and use of Spanish at the same time that English is learned. But this can only occur if steps are taken to value the use and learning of Spanish in schools. His suggestions include: (1) the promotion of Spanish in teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, (2) encouragement for students to take the Advanced Placement Examination in Spanish to encourage Latino and other students to pursue academic expertise of the language, and (3) school-community interactions that could result in the teaching of Spanish by Spanish-speaking immigrants in the community.

### **In-Service Multicultural Education**

As a comparatively recent movement in education, multiculturalism is not explicitly in the educational background of most teachers. This means that school systems introducing multicultural curricula must rely to a great extent on professional development programs to introduce teachers to the new developments. In her chapter,

Marietta Saravia-Shore studies the issues involved in developing a successful professional development program for an education that is multicultural. She draws on the experience of the Cross Cultural Interdisciplinary Cooperative Learning Project (CICL), a collaborative between Community School District Five in Manhattan and the Institute for Urban and Minority Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. The goal of the project is the construction of multicultural curricula in the area of social studies, guided by the various New York State and City multicultural initiatives.

Saravia-Shore finds that multicultural education in social studies can be introduced better when based on well-defined anthropological constructs. In her approach, she uses the theoretical frameworks developed by Geertz, Hall, Lakoff, and Johnson, as well as others (see Saravia-Shore & Arvizu, 1992). The adoption of anthropological concepts such as non-verbal communication (Hall), symbolic culture (Geertz), and others provide a structure to look formally at cross-cultural literacy; the tendency otherwise is to develop superficial, fragmented pieces which mock the complex nature of culture and the interaction among cultures.

Because of the broad-based nature of her approach, Saravia-Shore argues that multicultural social studies curriculum is best modeled in a truly interdisciplinary way. In the CICL project application, teachers engage in curriculum development activities that involve various cultures' visual arts, architecture, literature, and music, in addition to social science content. In this context, cooperation between schools, universities, and museums to provide materials for both curriculum and teaching has been found by Saravia-Shore and her CICL colleagues to provide a sharp increase in the quality of multicultural education. They also found that incorporating the wide diversity in popular culture, both historical and contemporary, greatly motivates both teachers and their students. The cultural variety existing in the everyday lives of various groups of people, by race, ethnicity, gender, and national origin, constitutes a powerful instrument for multicultural education. Finally, the CICL project points to cooperative learning as an important tool through which the various cultures represented by teachers themselves can be used as a resource for professional development purposes.

In her paper, Dawn Person examines the role of African American and Latino women in higher education. Discussing recent trends on the participation of women in higher education at all levels, she finds that, as students and faculty, minority women are substantially

underrepresented in higher education. The underutilization of human resources implied by the absence of minority women in colleges and universities, in spite of the country's growing multiculturalism, represents a high cost to the nation which must be dealt with. A truly multicultural education in schools and universities can only be achieved when minority women faculty and students are represented not only in the curriculum but also in actual numbers.

Person's paper examines the key reason for the difficulties facing minority women in higher education, including the problems of financing higher education, and the role of institutional racism and sexism in generating leakages in the educational pipeline. She also provides a careful assessment of the major current controversies and myths in this field. For instance, there has been much discussion in recent years about the comparatively low participation of African American men in higher education. Often, comparisons are made suggesting that, since African American women are achieving a higher rate of college degree attainment than men, the focus of intervention programs should be on African American men.

Person confirms that African American women are indeed enrolling and graduating from college at higher rates than are African American men. The greater rate of degree attainment for African American women relative to men in 1990 was two percent at the high school level and 24 percent at the college level. However, Person demonstrates why these data should not be used to omit African American women from the center of any discussion on racial issues in higher education. First of all, the higher enrollment and graduation rates of Black women relative to men is not a phenomenon unique to African Americans', the same holds for Whites, Latinos and Asian Americans. Secondly, the gaps in graduation rates do not reflect the fields where men and women specialize. The larger number of African American women graduating from college is mostly accounted for by traditional fields, such as health, education, and psychology. Black men have higher graduation rates in fields such as architecture, engineering, and the physical sciences. Finally, Person observes that the focus of attention should be on the substantial education attainment gap between African American and Latina women and White women. In 1992, for example, 12 percent of Black women and 8.5 percent of Hispanic women had a college degree, compared to 19.1 percent for White women.

To conclude, the chapters in this volume represent the most

current research and practice on how urban education can be reinvented. We can only hope that they will make readers more informed about what constitutes urban education and the best ways to improve it.

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**THE URBAN LANDSCAPE:  
SOCIOECONOMIC DIVERSITY AND  
ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS**

## **THE MULTICULTURAL POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY: A SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE MOSAIC<sup>1</sup>**

**Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The racial and ethnic makeup of New York City underwent a dramatic change in the last decade. More than ever before, in the 1980s and early 1990s, the City became a highly complex mosaic of diverse populations, many new to the American scene.

If the immigrant population moving to the United States in recent years has been impressive, the contingent moving to New York City has been massive. From 1982 to 1992, close to one million immigrants from over 160 countries moved to the City. In 1992 alone, it is estimated that 120,600 legal immigrants located in New York. According to the 1990 U.S. Census of Population, a fully 28.4 percent of the New York City population in 1990 was born in a foreign country. This compares to a

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<sup>1</sup> The author thanks the participants of a seminar at Teachers College, Columbia University, for helpful comments. The efficient research assistance of Roberto Agodini and Deboyoti Sarkar is gratefully acknowledged.

23.6 percent foreign-born population in 1980.

This increased diversity opens new opportunities. It also opens a Pandora's box of challenges. For instance, the variety of languages now heard in the streets and neighborhoods of the City is astounding. Walking in Manhattan, one can easily find people speaking—and signs written in—Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Korean, Haitian Creole, Polish, Portuguese, Greek, Indian, and more. In fact, over 40 percent of the people in New York City speak a language other than English at home. This linguistic diversity makes New York City a great place for international trade. There is no difficulty finding people here who speak almost any foreign language imaginable. On the other hand, the immigrant flow has posed a major linguistic challenge to the schools and the labor market. In order to communicate effectively and succeed in the American labor market, English language proficiency is a major requirement (see Grenier, 1984; Chiswick, 1991; and Rivera-Batiz, 1992). Yet, many of the new New Yorkers do not know how to speak, write, or read English well. The U.S. Census of Population indicated that over 20 percent of the residents of New York in 1990 did not know English "very well."

The growing multicultural nature of the population is reflected in the City's schools. The new New Yorkers are young people and they tend to have larger families than the average American. As a result, the public school student population of New York has sharply increased over the last few years, reversing a downward trend existing since the early 1970s. Over the past three years more than 120,000 immigrant students from 167 different countries have enrolled in the City's schools. Not only are facilities strained to the limit because of lack of space, but schools find themselves with no teachers who can understand the languages of their students (and their parents).

It is the goal of this paper to document the specific demographic changes that occurred in the New York City metropolitan area during the 1980s and to define the challenges and opportunities facing the City in the 1990s. It begins by describing New York's multicultural mosaic of peoples, showing how the 1980s saw the greatest increase in the diversity of the City in its history. It then demonstrates that sharp inequality, running along racial and ethnic lines, persists in the City despite its growing diversity. This inequality has resulted in a polarization by race, and to some extent ethnicity, that can be seen in the extent of residential segregation, which continues at very high levels and appears to be rising. The inequality appears also in income levels. The paper will document

the wide socioeconomic gaps existing among the various populations of the City.

We also find substantial differences in socioeconomic status within aggregate ethnic/racial groupings. For instance, the variation in the economic performance of the various groups composing the so-called White population is remarkable. On average, White households have the highest income in the City, much higher than Black Americans and Hispanics, in particular. Yet, some White groups—such as persons of Greek ancestry—exhibit socioeconomic status close to that of some Hispanic and African groups. Others, such as individuals with Russian ancestry, have among the highest household incomes in New York. A similar pattern occurs within the Asian population. There is a broad gulf between the socioeconomic status of persons with Vietnamese and Japanese ancestry: in terms of income per person, the Japanese population in New York City has more than twice the income of the Vietnamese population. The Hispanic and African populations also exhibit great diversity, as we will document below.

Even within a specific racial/ethnic group, socioeconomic status varies significantly. For instance, the social and economic condition of women in New York City remains significantly below that of men, for all ethnic/racial groups. However, the 1980s saw a big push in the move towards sexual equality. Occupational distributions of men and women in the 1990s look increasingly more similar to each other. Women are now more visible in the higher-paying occupations that men dominate. And, in many occupations, women have wages which are much closer to those of men.

The wide variability in the socioeconomic experience of the various racial, ethnic and gender groups in New York City is more than ever related to education. This is due to the rising importance of skill and education in the labor market. This phenomenon, in turn, is associated with a number of factors. Technological change in the workplace, such as the introduction of computers over the last decade have led to greater skill requirements for many jobs. Flexible manufacturing, introduced in recent years by many American firms, mandates that workers must have the thinking skills necessary to adjust quickly to shifts in production. The use of electronics in general in the workplace requires basic programming skills and a minimum of quantitative literacy. Industrial restructuring and the reduction in the relative supply of high-paying blue-collar jobs have resulted in depressed labor market conditions for workers in certain

regions. Most displaced workers with low levels of education are never able to recover their previous standards of living (see Jacobson, Lalonde & Sullivan, 1993).

Jobs are requiring more and better education. Post-secondary education now appears to be essential for success in the labor market. Yet, many of the groups whose population is rising in the City do not receive the quality education that will stimulate the pursuit of post-secondary education. A wide array of factors is associated with this failure. Some factors are family or community-related, including family disorganization and teenage pregnancy. Others are broader institutional and societal forces, such as inequities in school finance and racial and ethnic segregation. The 1980s did not see much progress in many of these areas and the 1990s do not appear to offer much more promise. This leaves the City with a major paradox. The growing ethnic and racial diversity so proudly displayed is being matched by an intensifying inequality for which no pride can be taken. Changing this pattern is the real challenge for New York in the 1990s.

### IMMIGRATION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY IN NEW YORK CITY

The population of New York City increased from 7,071,639 in 1980 to 7,322,564 in 1990. This increased number of residents masks wide shifts in the presence of particular racial and ethnic groups in the City. The so-called White population, for instance, declined sharply. At the same time, the Hispanic and Asian communities grew markedly in response to a massive flow of immigrants.

Table 1 disaggregates the population of New York City in 1980 and 1990, by race and ethnicity. The categories included in Table 1 are: Whites (non-Hispanic), Blacks (non-Hispanics), Hispanics, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and other groups. Several clarifications must be made about the nature of these classifications. The population is assigned to these categories on the basis of self-identification as established in individual responses to questionnaires administered by the U.S. Census of Population. Persons answering the questionnaires include themselves in each group (or not) depending on whether they believe that they belong in the particular racial/ethnic category. There is no biological or scientific basis to racial or ethnic identity. Both race and ethnicity are social

**Table 1****The Population of New York City, by Race/Ethnicity**

|                        | 1980      |         | 1990      |         |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
|                        | Residents | Percent | Residents | Percent |
| Overall Population     | 7,071,639 | 100.0   | 7,322,564 | 100.0   |
| Non-Hispanic White     | 3,703,203 | 52.4    | 3,163,125 | 43.2    |
| Non-Hispanic Black     | 1,694,505 | 24.0    | 1,847,049 | 25.2    |
| Hispanic               | 1,406,389 | 19.9    | 1,783,511 | 24.4    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 239,338   | 3.4     | 489,851   | 6.7     |
| Other                  | 28,204    | 0.3     | 39,028    | 0.5     |

Note: In this table, as in other tables below and in the text, the White and Black populations consist of the Non-Hispanic White and Black populations.

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (1992a).

constructs.<sup>2</sup> Individuals identify with a particular racial or ethnic grouping depending on their own perception of whether they do or do not fit the racial/ethnic construct. Racial or ethnic identity is thus subjective, and is responsive to class, family, geographical location and gender [see, for instance, Smith and Seltzer, 1992]. In fact, for both Whites and Blacks, personal notions of racial identification can undergo significant shifts over time in response to personal and social change (Helms and Carter, 1990). Furthermore, the use of racial aggregates such as Black and

<sup>2</sup> The social construction of racial definitions is represented by the history of the U.S. Census of Population questions themselves. In early census enumerations, the term "mulatto" was included as a category in addition to "Black." In 1890, persons were instructed to record the exact proportion of their "African blood," and in 1920 the race question was changed to define "Black" as any person with Black ancestry, eliminating the mulatto category. Up to 1960, however, Census racial identification was based on the perception of questionnaire interviewers about the respondent's race. Only in 1960 was the current race question, which asks persons to self-identify as Black, White or other, introduced.

White does not negate the additional identification of individuals within these groups according to ethnic categories. People under the Census category of Whites might better describe themselves ethnically as being of German, Russian, or Irish ancestry. Similarly, the Black population might be Jamaican, Haitian, and so on. There may be wide differences among persons within a given racial category if we disaggregate the group into various ethnic sub-categories.

In the case of the Hispanic population, the great majority of persons do not identify themselves in racial terms, whether it is White or Black (see Rodriguez, 1989). In Census questionnaire responses, when asked about their racial identity, most Hispanics will usually respond as "other," or they will write-in an ethnic identification, such as "Hispanic," "Latino," or "Puerto Rican." As a result, most social scientists create a separate category for identifying the Hispanic population. The Census questionnaire asks specifically if the person is of Spanish/Hispanic origin. All persons classifying themselves as such are then considered to be Hispanic. The Asian/Pacific Islander population also largely does not identify itself on a White/Black basis. There is therefore again a separate category for persons identifying themselves as Asians. The remaining persons in the population are gathered together as "other" in Table 1. These represent mostly Native-Americans, but there is also a small number of people who do not identify themselves with any of the specified racial/ethnic groups.

The increase in the population of New York City in the 1980s was fueled predominantly by growth of Hispanics and Asians. Table 1 presents the changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the population of New York in the 1980s. As can be seen, the White population *declined* by 540,078 people during this time period, dropping from over 3.7 million in 1980 to less than 3.2 million in 1990. The Black population rose, but only slightly. The number of Blacks in New York grew by 152,544 persons, from 1.69 million in 1980 to 1.85 million in 1990. Hispanics, on the other hand, increased substantially, expanding by 377,122 persons, and rising from 1.4 million in 1980 to 1.8 million in 1990. The Asian and Pacific Islander population grew even faster, more than doubling its size in the 1980s. The number of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the City increased by 250,513, expanding from 239,338 people in 1980 to 489,851 in 1990.

The changing demographics in the 1980s have made New York City more multicultural than ever before. The "White flight" observed in the 1980s, much of it to suburban areas in the states of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, was replaced by a variety of old and new



immigrant groups. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. immigrants located in New York City during the 1980s, including both documented and undocumented immigrants. Table 2 depicts the various groups of legal immigrants to the U.S. moving to New York between 1982 and 1992. During this time period, the total number of immigrants locating in New York City was 898,213. The countries sending the largest flow of legal immigrants were: the Dominican Republic, followed by Jamaica, China, Guyana, Haiti, the former Soviet Union, Colombia, India, Korea and Ecuador.

The undocumented population is, of course, much more difficult to measure. However, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) recently estimated the number of undocumented immigrants living in

**Table 2**

**Legal Immigrants Moving to New York City From 1982 to 1991\***

| Country of Origin   | Immigrants | Country of Origin | Immigrants     |
|---------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Dominican Republic  | 151,712    | Hong Kong         | 13,737         |
| Jamaica             | 87,112     | Poland            | 12,712         |
| China               | 79,841     | Honduras          | 11,381         |
| Guyana              | 67,729     | Britain           | 11,054         |
| Haiti               | 48,518     | Israel            | 10,073         |
| Soviet Union        | 36,593     | Peru              | 9,920          |
| Colombia            | 26,834     | Pakistan          | 9,803          |
| India               | 24,938     | El Salvador       | 9,689          |
| Korea               | 24,361     | Barbados          | 9,450          |
| Ecuador             | 22,857     | Bangladesh        | 8,695          |
| Philippines         | 19,791     | Ireland           | 7,321          |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 19,342     |                   |                |
|                     |            | <b>Total</b>      | <b>898,213</b> |

\* Based on Immigration and Naturalization Service data.

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (1993a).

New York State, a great part of whom reside in New York City. Table 3 shows these estimates<sup>3</sup>. It is calculated that a total of 490,100 illegal aliens were residing in the state of New York in October 1992. Some of the countries from which these immigrants come from are as is expected by popular perception, such as the Dominican Republic, Haiti, or Jamaica. Some are not. For instance, the estimates by INS are that 25,800 persons from Poland were residing illegally in New York State, 16,900 from Ireland, 14,600 from Pakistan, 13,500 from Israel, 3,900 from the former Soviet Union, and 1,700 from the United Kingdom. How many of these illegal aliens reside in New York City? INS estimates are for the state of New York but some imputations about the proportion residing in New York City can be made. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) made undocumented aliens who had continuously resided in the United States since January 1, 1982 eligible for temporary resident status.<sup>4</sup> A total of 1,760,978 people applied for legalization under this program. Of these, 119,617 were residing in the state of New York and 106,181 in the city of New York. This implies that close to 90 percent of the illegal alien population in New York State reside today in New York City. Assuming that this residential proportion has been sustained to the present, the implication is that over 441,000 undocumented immigrants reside today in New York City. Given the IRCA-related opportunities for legalization of illegal aliens moving to New York before 1980, one can safely assume that the greatest majority of the undocumented workers currently residing in New York came to the City in the 1980s.

The large number of immigrants moving to New York City has had many consequences. One of them is the swelling of the number of immigrant children in the schools. Immigrants tend to be young compared to the general population, and a greater proportion of them have school-

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<sup>3</sup> The figures are obtained by estimating the size of two groups of illegal immigrants: (1) aliens who are admitted legally on a temporary basis and do not depart or apply for legal permanent residence (calculated from INS information), and (2) aliens who enter without inspection, estimated by comparing the number of immigrants moving to the U.S. during a certain period of time as given by Census data with the actual number of immigrants admitted to the U.S. during that period of time. For more details, see New York City Department of City Planning (1993b) and Passel and Woodrow (1987).

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of IRCA and its consequences, see Rivera-Batiz, Sechzer, and Gang (1991).

**Table 3****Estimated Illegal Alien Population Residing in New York State  
October 1992\***

| Country of Origin   | Immigrants | Country of Origin     | Immigrants     |
|---------------------|------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Ecuador             | 27,100     | Guyana                | 10,900         |
| Poland              | 25,800     | India                 | 9,900          |
| Dominican Republic  | 25,600     | Honduras              | 9,500          |
| Colombia            | 24,500     | Philippines           | 8,100          |
| Haiti               | 21,400     | Bangladesh            | 5,900          |
| Jamaica             | 21,200     | Peru                  | 5,300          |
| Trinidad & Tobago   | 20,500     | Barbados              | 4,500          |
| Ireland             | 16,900     | Soviet Union          | 3,900          |
| El Salvador         | 15,300     | Hong Kong             | 2,600          |
| Pakistan            | 14,600     | Britain               | 1,700          |
| Israel              | 13,500     | Korea                 | 1,200          |
| China               | 12,700     |                       |                |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 19,342     | <b>New York State</b> |                |
|                     |            | <b>Total</b>          | <b>490,100</b> |

\* Estimates constructed by Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (1993b).

age children, mostly in public schools. Table 4 shows the number of immigrant children in New York City public schools, decomposed by country of origin. The accumulated number of immigrant children enrolled in New York City's public schools during 1989-90, 1990-91 and 1991-92 was 120,000. The largest group consisted of children from the Dominican Republic (23,000), followed by Jamaican children (10,000), and Russian children (8,000). This surge of immigrant children in recent years has reversed a downward trend in school enrollments that started in the early 1970s. It has led to overcrowding of classrooms and to a severe straining in the capacity of the teaching staff. Consider the following example, one among many, described by Berger (1992): "One elementary school, P.S. 19 in Elmhurst, in Queens School District 24, has 2,100 students from 45 different countries and is so crowded that it

**Table 4****Immigrant Children in the New York City Public School System\***

| Immigrant Group    | Number         | Percent of Immigrant Children in Public School |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Dominican Republic | 23,000         | 19.0                                           |
| Jamaica            | 10,000         | 8.3                                            |
| Russia             | 8,000          | 6.7                                            |
| Guyana             | 7,000          | 5.8                                            |
| China              | 7,000          | 5.8                                            |
| Haiti              | 6,000          | 5.0                                            |
| Trinidad           | 4,800          | 4.0                                            |
| Mexico             | 4,200          | 3.5                                            |
| Ecuador            | 3,800          | 3.2                                            |
| Colombia           | 3,700          | 3.1                                            |
| Korea              | 3,600          | 3.0                                            |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>120,000</b> | <b>100.0</b>                                   |

\* These figures represent the accumulated number of immigrant children enrolled in New York City public schools during 1989-90, 1990-91 and 1991-92.

Source: New York City Board of Education (1992).

equals the size of many high schools, which draw from far larger geographical areas."

Many of the immigrant children enrolling in New York City schools have very little knowledge of English. As a consequence, the number of limited English proficient (LEP) students has rapidly climbed over the last few years. Between 1987 and 1992, the number of LEP students in New York City public schools rose from 86,128 to 133,951, an increase of over 50 percent in a period of five years.<sup>5</sup> Associated with this has been a deteriorating performance of New York City elementary and middle school students in national English reading proficiency tests.

<sup>5</sup> Based on data presented by the New York City Department of City Planning (1992a).

In 1987, the percentage of New York City elementary and middle school students in the lowest national quartile in reading was 27 percent, but by 1992, the percentage was above 30 percent.

## THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NEW YORKERS

New York City has become a more complex multicultural mosaic in recent years. But it remains a mosaic whose colors are not highly interspersed. Racial and ethnic segregation continues to permeate the City.

### The History of Segregation in New York

Table 5 presents the racial and ethnic composition of the five boroughs of New York: the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island. The distribution of the population by race/ethnicity is far from even. This is clearly demonstrated by comparing the borough of Staten Island with that of the Bronx. In Staten Island, Whites constitute 80 percent of the population and the Black population only 7.4 percent. In the Bronx, on the other hand, the White population is only 22.6 percent of the total while the Black population represents 30.7 percent.

Part of the racial and ethnic unevenness in the distribution of the population in New York is due to neighborhood patterns associated with the clustering of in-migrant groups that choose to live near family members or earlier movers. At the same time, there is also sociological evidence that residential segregation and bias have also contributed to the unevenness in the distribution of ethnic and racial groups in the City. This is reinforced by the fact of housing discrimination, that continues to the present.

Sociologists have adopted a variety of measures of residential segregation. One of the most common, and simplest, measures is the index of residential dissimilarity.<sup>6</sup> This index is equal to zero if there is

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<sup>6</sup> Algebraically, the index of dissimilarity is given by:

$$D = (0.5) \left[ \sum_i |(x_i/X) - (y_i/Y)| \right]$$

where  $x_i$  and  $y_i$  represent the number of persons in racial/ethnic groups  $x$  and  $y$ , respectively, in location  $i$  within the city. The variables  $X$  and  $Y$  denote the metropolitan-wide total populations of groups  $x$  and  $y$ . This index is not without its shortcomings; for a detailed discussion of  $D$  as well as other measures of residential segregation, see White (1986) and Massey and Denton (1988).

**Table 5****The Five Boroughs of New York City, by Race/Ethnicity**

|                          | 1980      |         | 1990      |         |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
|                          | Residents | Percent | Residents | Percent |
| Borough of the Bronx     | 1,168,972 | 100.0   | 1,203,789 | 100.0   |
| White                    | 401,856   | 34.4    | 272,503   | 22.6    |
| Black                    | 349,961   | 29.9    | 369,113   | 30.7    |
| Hispanic                 | 395,138   | 33.8    | 523,111   | 43.5    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander   | 16,617    | 1.4     | 31,210    | 2.6     |
| Borough of Brooklyn      | 2,230,936 | 100.0   | 2,300,664 | 100.0   |
| White                    | 1,095,946 | 49.1    | 923,229   | 40.1    |
| Black                    | 688,405   | 30.9    | 797,802   | 34.7    |
| Hispanic                 | 393,103   | 17.6    | 462,411   | 20.1    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander   | 44,911    | 2.0     | 106,022   | 4.6     |
| Borough of Manhattan     | 1,428,285 | 100.0   | 1,487,536 | 100.0   |
| White                    | 721,588   | 50.5    | 726,755   | 48.9    |
| Black                    | 290,561   | 20.3    | 261,120   | 17.6    |
| Hispanic                 | 335,247   | 23.5    | 386,630   | 26.0    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander   | 74,096    | 5.2     | 106,306   | 7.1     |
| Borough of Queens        | 1,891,325 | 100.0   | 1,951,598 | 100.0   |
| White                    | 1,183,038 | 62.6    | 937,557   | 48.0    |
| Black                    | 341,261   | 18.0    | 390,842   | 20.0    |
| Hispanic                 | 263,548   | 13.9    | 381,120   | 19.5    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander   | 96,653    | 5.1     | 229,830   | 11.8    |
| Borough of Staten Island | 352,121   | 100.0   | 378,977   | 100.0   |
| White                    | 300,755   | 85.4    | 303,081   | 80.0    |
| Black                    | 24,317    | 6.9     | 28,172    | 7.4     |
| Hispanic                 | 19,353    | 5.5     | 30,239    | 8.0     |
| Asian/Pacific Islander   | 7,061     | 2.0     | 16,483    | 4.3     |

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (1992a).

no segregation and one if the groups are totally segregated from each other. The index shows the proportion of the majority population that would have to move to achieve an even residential distribution of all groups within the city. Table 6 displays the index of dissimilarity between Blacks and Whites for New York and a number of other cities, from 1860 to 1960. As measured by this index, the cities in Table 6 all exhibit an increase in segregation from 1860 to 1940. For most of the sample, segregation then declines between 1940 and 1960. In New York City, the index of dissimilarity rises from  $D = 0.406$  to  $D = 0.868$  between 1860 and 1940, and then drops to 0.793 in 1960. These numbers mean that, in 1860, 40.6 percent of the Black population would have had to move in order to achieve an even distribution of Blacks in New York. By 1940, as much as 86.8 percent of the Black population would have had to change residence in order to achieve racial residential uniformity.

The rise of residential segregation on the basis of race in New York City goes back to the beginning of this century. According to the recent work of sociologists Douglas Massey, of the University of Chicago, and Nancy Denton, of SUNY at Albany: "Before 1900, Blacks were not particularly segregated from Whites [in northern cities], and although they were overrepresented in the poorest housing and meanest streets, their residential status did not differ markedly from that of others in the same economic circumstances...Studies of Black residential life in northern cities around the time of the Civil War reveal little systematic exclusion from White neighborhoods on the basis of skin color" (Massey and Denton, 1993, pp. 19-20). Only after the massive internal migration of Blacks to New York at the beginning of the century do we find a sudden rise in the level of Black-White residential segregation. White resistance to the greater presence of Blacks led both to racial violence and to an effort to segregate Blacks into ghettos. As Massey and Denton (1993, p. 30) observe: "As the tide of violence rose in northern cities, Blacks were increasingly divided from Whites by a hardening color line in employment, education, and especially housing. Whites became increasingly intolerant of Black neighbors and fear of racial turnover and Black 'invasion' spread...In White eyes, Black people belonged in Black neighborhoods no matter what their social or economic standing: the color line grew increasingly impermeable." In New York City, the race riot of August 1900, in which the White population terrorized the Black population, marked the beginning of a period of retrenchment in race relations. Writing in 1911, the Reverend Dr. W.H. Brooks, one of the most prominent leaders of the African American community in New York at the time (founder of the National Association for the Advancement of



**Table 6****Black-White Residential Segregation in New York City and Other Cities Through Two Centuries\***

| Metropolitan Area | 1860 | 1940 | 1960 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|
| New York          | .406 | .868 | .793 |
| Chicago           | .500 | .950 | .926 |
| Miami             | NA   | .979 | .979 |
| Newark            | NA   | .868 | .793 |
| Phila.            | .471 | .888 | .871 |
| Boston            | .613 | .863 | .839 |
| Atlanta           | NA   | .874 | .936 |

\* Residential Segregation is measured by the sociological index of residential dissimilarity. This index is equal to 0 if there is no segregation and 1.0 if the groups are totally segregated. It shows the proportion of the minority population that would have to move residence to achieve an even distribution of all groups within the city. The computations are based on U.S. Census of Population data and the unit of residence is a Census tract. The segregation index for 1860 is for free Blacks vs. Whites.

Source: Massey and Denton (1993), Tables 2.1 and 2.3.

Colored People and the National Urban league), commented: "Assaults...upon innocent colored people and the growing insolence of race prejudice in the freest of all American cities have become alarming" (quoted in Osofsky, 1963, p. 35). In a few decades, a city that had seen considerable Black-White residential contact became highly segregated, with a great number of Black residents moving to Harlem.

### **Suburbanization and Segregation**

The growing racial segregation within cities occurring during the first half of the century was followed by another trend during the second half, a trend which has further separated some racial and ethnic groups from others. This is the massive expansion of suburban metropolitan areas. The suburbanization of America from the 1950s to the present has

been accompanied by a dramatic decline in the White population of cities. At the same time, the Black, Hispanic and Asian populations of cities have boomed. This segregating trend, which continues to this day, was documented earlier for the case of New York (see also Kantor and Brenzel, 1993).

Table 7 presents data for the index of dissimilarity for a number of American cities in 1980. The index is first presented for Black-White segregation. It is also presented for Hispanic-White segregation, Puerto Rican-White segregation and Asian-White segregation. With respect to Black-White segregation, Table 7 shows New York City to be the second most segregated city in the sample, behind Chicago. A total of 81.9 percent of the Black population of New York in 1980 would have had to move in order to distribute the Black population evenly—relative to Whites—across the City. Both the Hispanic-White and the Asian-White indexes of dissimilarity are substantially below the Black-White index in New York City. The index of Asian-White dissimilarity in New York City is 0.481, suggesting that 48.1 percent of the Asian population would have to move in order to distribute that population uniformly in New York. This does not suggest serious residential segregation. In fact, estimates of the extent of segregation of Irish and German immigrants from native-born Whites in the earlier part of this century yield dissimilarity indexes that range from  $D = 0.20$  to  $D = 0.45$ . Discussion of the Hispanic population must be qualified by noting that the extent of Puerto Rican segregation from Whites is closer to Black segregation from Whites. In fact, as Table 7 indicates, the index of dissimilarity between Puerto Ricans and Whites in Boston and Philadelphia is greater than between Blacks and Whites in these cities. In Philadelphia, the index of dissimilarity between Puerto Rican and Whites is 0.793 while between Blacks and Whites it 0.788. Massey and Denton (1989) have suggested that the mixed racial makeup of Puerto Ricans makes them subject to greater residential segregation when compared to other Hispanics.

### **Economic Effects of Segregation**

The sharp residential segregation based on race or ethnicity existing today in New York City is dangerous for many reasons. One of the most important ones is that residential segregation is one of the major causes of the expansion of the so-called "urban underclass." Although the underclass term was used earlier by social scientists such as Gunnar Myrdal and Douglas Glasgow, it was the University of Chicago sociologist William Julius Wilson who popularized the term in his 1987

**Table 7****Residential Segregation in New York and Other Cities, 1980\***

| Metropolitan Area | White-Black | Hispanic-White | Puerto Rican-White | Asian-White |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|
| New York          | .819        | .656           | .725               | .481        |
| Chicago           | .878        | .635           | .806               | .439        |
| Los Angeles       | .811        | .570           | NA                 | .431        |
| Miami             | .778        | .519           | .455               | .298        |
| Newark            | .816        | .656           | .764               | .344        |
| Phila.            | .788        | .629           | .793               | .437        |
| Boston            | .774        | .579           | .782               | .474        |
| Paterson          | .815        | .722           | .777               | .404        |
| El Paso           | .347        | .512           | NA                 | .237        |
| San Francisco     | .717        | .402           | NA                 | .444        |

\* Residential Segregation is measured by the sociological index of residential dissimilarity. The computations are based on U.S. Census of Population data and the unit of residence is a Census tract.

Source: Massey and Denton (1987; 1989).

book, *The Truly Disadvantaged*. The underclass, according to Wilson (1987, p. 41), represents: "individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not members of the labor force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behavior, and families that experience long-term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency." The growth of the underclass is closely linked to the concentration of low-income minorities in certain neighborhoods within cities and the growing concentration of minorities within poor central cities, as opposed to wealthier suburban areas. Wilson and a number of other social scientists suggest three explanations for the marked deterioration of economic opportunities for low-income Blacks

and Hispanics leading to the massive expansion of the underclass:<sup>7</sup> (1) the flight of manufacturing jobs from central cities to the suburbs in the northcentral and northeastern United States, (2) the general drop in the demand for unskilled labor in the United States, and, (3) the rebound of employment and residential discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity. In combination, these three forces have left many displaced Black and Hispanic workers with sharply curtailed employment opportunities, generating the vicious circle of poverty and social deterioration linked to the underclass.

### **Educational Effects of Segregation**

The persistence of residential segregation and the rise of the underclass have severe inter-generational consequences. The two phenomena conspire together to perpetuate educational segregation. American education is community-oriented. The country's public school finance system is based on local finance. To a large extent, local property taxes finance community elementary and secondary educational expenditures. Therefore, the great majority of residents in any given American community send their children to neighborhood schools. Schools in communities where Blacks or other minorities are concentrated because of racial segregation will have mostly Black or other minority students. Because many of these communities in New York and other cities are permeated by the underclass, their schools are often the poorest in resources and in quality. For instance, the average expenditure per pupil in the city of New York is currently less than one half the expenditure per pupil in some wealthy suburban school districts, such as Great Neck or Manhasset (see New York State Department of Education, 1993; Kozol, 1991).

The effort to racially desegregate schools through legal means gathered momentum in the 1950s. The movement was highly successful in desegregating schools that were segregated for reasons not related to residential separation.

In the South, for instance, the percentage of Black students in schools with a majority White student body grew from 19.1 percent in 1968 to 45.1 percent in 1976. At the same time, school segregation linked to residential separation remained to a large extent untouched by this movement, protected by a number of legal rulings in the late 1960s and

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<sup>7</sup> For more details on the debate surrounding the underclass, see Katz (1993) and Jencks and Peterson (1991).

early 1970s. The earlier-noted suburbanization trends of the 1970s and 1980s augmented the extent of school segregation on this basis. This has become a particularly severe problem in the Northeast, where the residential segregation plus underclass phenomena have collaborated *to increase* the extent of school segregation over the last 20 years. Between 1968 and 1988, the percentage of Black students in schools with a majority White student body in the Northeast declined from 33.2 percent to 22.7 percent. The urgency of dealing with school equity through public policy in New York City and in other cities is reflected in the following comments by Harvard political scientist Gary Orfield (1993, p. 259): "The nature of isolation in inner-city segregated schools is more comprehensive and its consequences more devastating today. Many of these schools not only are isolated by race but also have very few middle-class students or even students from intact families...It is not only Blacks but also Hispanics who are trapped in this situation...The costs of being trapped in schools where most students drop out, where there is little real competition, and where the achievement scores of minority students are extremely low, are much higher now than they were the last time there was a serious national debate over urban desegregation."

### A DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC PORTRAIT OF NEW YORK CITY

Previous sections have focused on describing New Yorkers according to aggregate racial and ethnic constructs. Following the Bureau of the Census categorization, these are: Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and others. There is, however, substantial diversity within each of these categories. This section examines this diversity.

#### Demographic Diversity

Among the White population, one can differentiate a wide array of ethnic groups within the City. Recent sociological studies suggest that ethnic identity within the White population coincides to a great extent with ancestry. For the foreign-born, of course, ancestry is closely related to place of birth. For the native-born, the determinants of ethnic identity are harder to define because of the great extent of inter-marriage and assimilation among the various groups of Whites in the population. Most of the German, Italian, Irish, and other waves of immigrants arriving earlier in this century gave way to second and third generations whose

language was English, who moved out of ethnic enclaves, and who married persons from other European ancestries (see Neidert & Farley, 1985; Lieberman, 1988). Although the wide extent of integration among White groups led to the melting pot view of American identity, the fact is that, even after many generations, Whites still strongly identify themselves with particular European ancestries. Some consider this ethnic identity as symbolic, especially in light of the much wider cultural differences between White Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans (see Waters, 1990; Steinberg, 1989). Most current researchers agree, however, that ethnic identity does not constitute a superficial part of the psychological makeup of a person.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the persistence of such identity suggests that it remains a critical component of a person's self-esteem and a key part of how the person sees the world. This finding serves as a basis for differentiating among the various ethnic groups comprising the White population. It also applies to Blacks, Hispanics and Asians.

Table 8 shows the composition of the population in New York City in 1990 according to ancestry group. The first group considered is the non-Hispanic White population. The largest group among Whites is Italians, which constituted 26.5 percent of the White population in 1990. This is followed by the Irish (16.9 percent), German (12.5 percent), Russian (9.5 percent), Polish (9.4 percent), English (5.5 percent), and Greek (2.6 percent). Among Non-Hispanic Blacks, the largest group identifying a particular ancestry is the Non-Hispanic Caribbean (West Indians, according to the Census), which includes Haitian, Jamaican, and other ancestries. The total number of persons of Caribbean ancestry in New York City was 391,744 in 1990. The second largest ancestry group is the African ancestry group, with 50,195 persons. A large proportion of the Black population—76.1 percent—did not claim specific ancestries; the great majority of this population consists of native-born Blacks.

The largest Hispanic group in New York City is of Puerto Rican ancestry. A total of 896,763 Puerto Ricans resided in New York in 1990, equal to 50.3 percent of the Hispanic population. This is followed by the Dominican population (constituting 18.7 percent), Colombian (4.7 percent), Ecuadorean (4.4 percent), Mexican (3.5 percent) and Cuban (3.1 percent). Within the Asian population, the largest group is of Chinese

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<sup>8</sup> See Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and Alba (1990). This viewpoint developed as a reaction to the melting pot theory, typified by the work of Robert Park (1950), based at the University of Chicago.



**Table 8**

**The Population of New York City:  
A Detailed Breakdown by Race and Ethnicity**

| Ancestry Group                | Number    | Percent of each<br>Aggregate Category |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>White Population</b>       | 3,163,125 | 100.0                                 |
| Italian                       | 838,780   | 26.5                                  |
| Irish                         | 535,846   | 16.9                                  |
| German                        | 395,230   | 12.5                                  |
| Russian                       | 298,936   | 9.5                                   |
| Polish                        | 296,809   | 9.4                                   |
| Greek                         | 82,690    | 2.6                                   |
| Other                         | 714,834   | 22.6                                  |
| <b>Black</b>                  | 1,847,049 | 100.0                                 |
| Haitian                       | 126,695   | 6.8                                   |
| Other Caribbean               | 265,049   | 14.3                                  |
| African                       | 50,195    | 2.7                                   |
| Other                         | 1,405,110 | 76.1                                  |
| <b>Hispanic</b>               | 1,783,511 | 100.0                                 |
| Puerto Rican                  | 896,763   | 50.3                                  |
| Dominican                     | 332,713   | 18.7                                  |
| Colombian                     | 84,454    | 4.7                                   |
| Ecuadorean                    | 78,444    | 4.4                                   |
| Mexican                       | 61,722    | 3.5                                   |
| Cuban                         | 56,041    | 3.1                                   |
| Other                         | 273,874   | 15.3                                  |
| <b>Asian/Pacific Islander</b> | 489,851   | 100.0                                 |
| Chinese                       | 238,919   | 48.8                                  |
| Asian Indian                  | 94,590    | 19.3                                  |
| Korean                        | 69,718    | 14.2                                  |
| Filipino                      | 43,229    | 8.8                                   |
| Japanese                      | 16,828    | 3.4                                   |
| Other                         | 26,567    | 5.5                                   |

Source: New York Department of City Planning (1992a).



ancestry. A total of 238,919 persons catalogued themselves of Chinese ancestry in the 1990 Census, constituting 48.8 percent of the New York City population. This was followed by Asian Indians (19.3 percent of the Asian population), Koreans (14.2 percent), Filipinos (8.8 percent), and Japanese (3.4 percent).

### **Socioeconomic Disparities**

Table 9 presents basic indicators of socioeconomic status among the major racial/ethnic groups in New York City. The data are for 1989 and based on the 1990 U.S. Census of Population. The average income of a household in New York City during the year of 1989 was \$47,145. However, there are considerable deviations from this average according to race and ethnicity. At one extreme stands the White population, with an annual income of \$59,961 in 1989, which is much greater than the average for New York. At the other extreme is the Hispanic population, with an average household income of \$30,726, radically below the average. In between these two extremes are, first, the Asian population, whose average household income of \$47,997 in 1989 slightly exceeded the average for the City, and, secondly, the Black population, whose average household income of \$36,558 was significantly above that of Hispanics but also sharply below the overall New York average.

Table 9 also exhibits the economic disparities within racial/ethnic groups. Among the White population, for example, persons of Russian ancestry had the highest level of household income in 1989: \$72,375. This compares with the \$49,687 obtained by persons of Greek ancestry. Within the Black population, persons indicating African ancestry had the highest household income in 1989: \$43,006. Other Blacks, predominantly native-born Blacks, had the lowest household income within the Black population: \$33,915 in 1989. Among Hispanics, the Cuban population has the highest income, equal to \$39,943 in 1989. The Dominican population has the lowest household income both among Hispanics and among New Yorkers: \$27,005. Close to the Dominican population are persons of Puerto Rican ancestry whose annual household income was \$27,528 in 1989. Among Asians, the Vietnamese had the lowest household income: \$39,558 in 1989. The Asian group with the highest household income was the Japanese, with \$73,283 in 1989, the highest among New Yorkers.

The figures on household income reflect major disparities. This inequality is sharpened when the measures of economic well-being shift from households to individuals. The reason is that, in many cases, those groups with the lowest household income also have the largest number

**Table 9****Socioeconomic Status of the Population of New York City, 1990**

| Ancestry Group       | Household Income | Persons HH | Per-Capita HH Income | Poverty |
|----------------------|------------------|------------|----------------------|---------|
| New York City        | 47,145           | 3.59       | 16,412               | 17.2    |
| <b>White Pop.</b>    | 59,961           | 3.03       | 23,276               | 8.2     |
| German               | 63,420           | 2.84       | 25,930               | 4.6     |
| Greek                | 49,687           | 3.38       | 16,567               | 8.4     |
| Italian              | 53,520           | 3.26       | 18,070               | 6.8     |
| Irish                | 62,811           | 3.16       | 21,960               | 5.1     |
| Polish               | 61,216           | 2.83       | 24,316               | 6.9     |
| Russian              | 72,375           | 2.66       | 29,990               | 7.3     |
| <b>Black Pop.</b>    | 36,558           | 3.95       | 10,894               | 22.9    |
| African              | 43,006           | 3.68       | 12,876               | 10.9    |
| Haitian              | 39,983           | 4.64       | 9,586                | 16.8    |
| Other Caribbean      | 42,939           | 4.07       | 11,741               | 12.6    |
| Other Black          | 33,915           | 3.92       | 10,001               | 25.9    |
| <b>Hispanic Pop.</b> | 30,726           | 4.20       | 8,515                | 31.4    |
| Central Amer.        | 35,246           | 4.42       | 9,206                | 21.4    |
| Cuban                | 39,483           | 3.16       | 14,498               | 16.7    |
| Dominican            | 27,005           | 4.65       | 6,336                | 36.6    |
| Mexican              | 38,041           | 5.28       | 8,631                | 23.7    |
| Puerto Rican         | 27,528           | 3.98       | 8,083                | 37.1    |
| South American       | 38,538           | 4.19       | 10,450               | 16.4    |
| <b>Asian Pop.</b>    | 47,997           | 4.24       | 13,297               | 14.8    |
| Asian Indian         | 49,106           | 4.51       | 12,615               | 12.0    |
| Chinese              | 45,089           | 4.47       | 11,205               | 15.2    |
| Filipino             | 64,847           | 4.10       | 17,205               | 4.8     |
| Japanese             | 73,283           | 2.95       | 26,912               | 9.2     |
| Korean               | 41,600           | 4.07       | 10,915               | 17.3    |
| Vietnamese           | 39,558           | 4.40       | 9,672                | 28.4    |

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing 5% Public Use Micro Sample Data; see United States Department of Commerce (1993). Author's tabulations.

of persons living in a typical household. Differences in income per person—*per capita income*—are widened compared to gaps in *household income*. Table 9 shows the number of persons in the average household of the different racial/ethnic groups considered. Note that Russian and Japanese families, which have the highest income in New York, also are among the groups with the lowest average number of household members. Similarly, households of Puerto Rican and Dominican ancestry, which have the lowest income in the City, are also among the groups with the largest family size. Among Dominicans, the average number of persons per family in 1989 was 4.65, compared to 2.66 persons in the average household of Russian ancestry.

Considering per-capita income, as opposed to household income, magnifies differences in ethnic and racial outcomes. Table 9 shows that Blacks in New York City had 46.8 percent of the per-capita income of Whites in 1989 (\$10,894 for Blacks versus \$23,276 for Whites). Hispanics had 36.6 percent of White income per-capita; and Asians 57.1 percent of White income per-capita. For particular ethnic and racial groups, the magnitude of the differences in income within the City is abysmal. For instance, in 1989 the per-capita income among Puerto Ricans was \$8,083 while that of persons with Russian ancestry was \$29,990. Individuals of Puerto Rican ancestry in New York City thus had an average of 26.9 percent of the per-capita income of persons of Russian ancestry. The gap is worse for persons from the Dominican Republic, whose per-capita income of \$6,336 is the lowest in New York City.

The extreme income variation among groups in New York City is reflected in the poverty rates. Families below the poverty level are those whose income is below a minimum threshold level that the Census Bureau considers essential for family members to be able to buy the food necessary to maintain appropriate nutrition levels. These poverty income thresholds vary with family size and with the number of children in the family. For a family consisting of two adults with two children the poverty level in 1989 was \$12,674.

Table 9 shows that the proportion of people living in families below the poverty level in New York City in 1989 was 17.2 percent. Among the White population, however, the poverty rate was only 8.2 percent. For Blacks, the poverty rate was 22.9 percent; for Hispanics, 31.4 percent; and for Asians, 14.8 percent. As can be expected from the discussion above, the group with the highest poverty rate was the Puerto Rican population, with 37.1 percent of its population below the poverty level. This was followed by persons with Dominican Republic ancestry, whose poverty rate was 36.6 percent, and the Vietnamese, whose poverty

level was 28.4 percent.

The second half of the 1980s were a time of economic boom for New York City. On average, this economic progress increased the income of most New Yorkers. Table 10 shows that, measured in real terms (adjusted for inflation), the per-capita income of New Yorkers rose from \$12,765 in 1979 to \$16,412 in 1989. This corresponds to an annual average increase in income of 2.8 percent per year during the decade.

**Table 10**

**Changes in Per-Capita Income, New York City, 1979-1989, by Race/Ethnicity**

| Ancestry Group           | Per-Capita<br>Income,<br>1979 | Per-Capita<br>Income,<br>1989 | Per-Capita<br>Income, 1979<br>Inflation-Adjusted* |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| New York City<br>Average | 7,212                         | 16,412                        | 12,765                                            |
| White<br>Population      | 9,230                         | 23,276                        | 16,336                                            |
| Black<br>Population      | 4,859                         | 10,894                        | 8,600                                             |
| Hispanic<br>Population   | 4,003                         | 8,515                         | 7,085                                             |
| Asian<br>Population      | 6,481                         | 13,297                        | 11,471                                            |

\* The inflation-adjusted data for 1979 per-capita income are in 1989 dollars and have been adjusted by the change in the Consumer Price Index for the New York Metropolitan Area between 1979 and 1989 as published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing 5% Public Use Micro Sample Data; see United States Department of Commerce (1983;1993). Author's tabulations.

This income expansion was not equally shared, however. Although the White population of New York City experienced a sharp increase in real income, the population of almost all other groups increased at a slower rate. Indeed, for some groups income grew hardly at all, when adjusted for inflation. For instance, persons from the Dominican Republic increased their per-capita income only from \$5,920 to \$6,336 during the decade.

The faster growth in the income of the richest people in the City during the 1980s has led to increased inequality. In relative terms, when compared to Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians all on average had lower economic standing in 1989 than in 1979. In 1979 Blacks had achieved 52.6 percent of the per-capita income of Whites. By 1989, this proportion was down to 46.8 percent. Similarly, the proportion of Hispanic per-capita income relative to White per-capita income dropped from 43.4 percent in 1979 to 36.6 percent in 1989. For the Asian population, per-capita income relative to Whites declined from 70.2 percent in 1979 to 57.1 percent in 1989.

Numerous forces determine these changes in income. Demographic shifts in the population of the City, related to immigration and emigration, explain some of it. For instance, the unusual reduction in the income of Asians relative to Whites is mostly related to the massive influx of foreign-born Asians during the 1980s. Because of their relatively young age, a general lack of knowledge of English, and the general trend towards lower skills exhibited by U.S. immigrants in recent decades, these recent immigrants perform substantially below the native-born economically.

Perhaps the strongest force determining economic outcomes is education. Do differences in education explain the wide gaps among various ethnic and racial groups in New York City? What about the changes in relative economic outcomes over time? Are they related to shifting educational achievement? The next section examines this issue.

## EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN NEW YORK CITY

The racial and ethnic diversity of educational attainment in New York is as great as that of income. Indeed, the two are highly correlated.

Table 11 displays the educational status of the population of New York City. The analysis covers persons 25 years of age or older, most of whom have completed their education. On the average, the White

**Table 11****The Educational Attainment of the New York City Population,  
1990**

Persons 25 years of age or older

| Ancestry<br>Group    | Less than<br>High School | High<br>School | Some<br>College | College |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------|
| New York City        | 29.6                     | 26.4           | 19.3            | 24.7    |
| <b>White Pop.</b>    | 20.5                     | 27.2           | 18.7            | 33.6    |
| German               | 17.0                     | 27.8           | 20.2            | 35.0    |
| Greek                | 37.0                     | 23.9           | 14.9            | 24.2    |
| Italian              | 31.2                     | 34.2           | 17.0            | 17.6    |
| Irish                | 16.1                     | 31.2           | 21.9            | 30.8    |
| Polish               | 21.3                     | 25.6           | 18.7            | 34.4    |
| Russian              | 11.1                     | 21.0           | 18.9            | 48.9    |
| <b>Black Pop.</b>    | 33.8                     | 29.6           | 23.8            | 12.8    |
| African              | 20.1                     | 21.8           | 29.7            | 28.4    |
| Haitian              | 35.3                     | 20.8           | 28.4            | 15.5    |
| Other Caribbean      | 32.6                     | 26.8           | 26.0            | 14.6    |
| Other Black          | 36.9                     | 28.2           | 23.3            | 11.6    |
| <b>Hispanic Pop.</b> | 51.3                     | 22.8           | 17.1            | 8.8     |
| Cuban                | 42.7                     | 19.3           | 18.8            | 19.2    |
| Dominican            | 61.5                     | 18.0           | 14.4            | 6.1     |
| Puerto Rican         | 53.5                     | 23.3           | 16.7            | 6.5     |
| South American       | 39.8                     | 27.7           | 20.5            | 12.0    |
| <b>Asian Pop.</b>    | 30.1                     | 18.9           | 16.0            | 35.0    |
| Asian Indian         | 23.7                     | 19.2           | 16.5            | 40.6    |
| Chinese              | 43.5                     | 17.6           | 13.4            | 25.5    |
| Japanese             | 5.3                      | 16.9           | 20.7            | 57.1    |
| Korean               | 20.0                     | 27.8           | 19.0            | 33.2    |
| Vietnamese           | 47.2                     | 25.0           | 14.9            | 12.9    |

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing 5% Public Use Micro Sample Data; see United States Department of Commerce (1983;1993). Author's tabulations.

residents of New York have the highest levels of education. According to Census figures, in 1990 as much as 33.6 percent of the White population in New York had completed college and only 20.5 percent lacked a high school diploma. On the other hand, the Hispanic population had the lowest average level of education in New York. The Census data indicate that only 8.8 percent of the Hispanic population in 1990 was completing college and as much as 51.3 percent did not have a high school diploma. Among Blacks, the situation is slightly better than for Hispanics, with 12.8 percent having completed college and 33.8 percent having no high school diploma. Among Asians, the distribution of education appears to be bimodal, with a comparatively high proportion of people having a college degree *and* also a high proportion not completing high school. As much as 35 percent of the Asian population had completed college in 1990, but 30.1 percent had not finished high school. This bimodal distribution-with a high proportion of people at high and low levels of the educational distribution-is partly due to ethnic differences within the Asian population, which is discussed next.

Table 11 presents the educational attainment of the various ethnic groups comprising the population of New York. Note the great variability within each aggregate racial and ethnic category. Note also how this variability coincides very closely with the dispersion of income noted earlier. Within the Asian group, for instance, the Japanese are among the most educated, with 57.1 percent of the group completing college in 1990. The Japanese are also the group with the highest per-capita income among Asians. By comparison, only 12.9 percent of the Vietnamese population had completed college in 1990 and close to 50 percent of this population had not even received a high school diploma. The Vietnamese also represent the Asian group with the lowest economic status in New York.

Among Hispanics, the group with greater educational attainment is the Cuban population. This is also the group with the highest per-capita income. According to the Census, a total of 19.2 percent of the Cuban population in New York had completed college in 1990. By contrast, the Dominican population had the lowest education in New York City, with only 6.1 percent of the group having a college degree in 1990. In 1990, as much as 61.5 percent of the Dominican population of New York City had not completed high school, the highest for the City. People from Puerto Rico follow Dominicans at the bottom of the educational ladder in New York, with only 6.7 percent of this population having completed college in 1990 and 53.5 percent having no high school diploma or certificate. Both Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are also at the bottom of



the economic ladder in New York, as was established earlier.

The Black population exhibits substantial diversity in educational attainment, and it again correlates well with the distribution of income. Among Blacks, persons registering African ancestry were the most educated, with 28.4 percent of that population having completed college in 1990 and only 20.1 percent having no high school diploma. On the other hand, Blacks claiming no particular ancestry had the lowest level of education. People in this category, which consists mostly of native-born Blacks, had an 11.6 percent college completion rate in 1990 and 36.9 percent had not completed high school. This educational pattern follows the economic status pattern discussed earlier: the per-capita income of Blacks stating an African ancestry was higher than that of Blacks claiming no specific ancestry.

There are also wide gaps in educational attainment among Whites. For instance, according to the Census only 11.1 percent of the Russian population in New York City had not completed high school in 1990. By contrast, as much as 37 percent of the Greek population had not received a high school diploma or certificate. Note that this pattern is identical to the one for economic outcomes: among Whites, the Russian population of New York has the highest income and Greeks the lowest. The Russian population also has the highest college completion rate among Whites. According to the Census, 48.9 percent of this group completed college in 1990.

Substantial educational changes occurred in the population of New York City in the 1980s. These changes are due to complex forces. Some are due to shifts in the educational attainment of local, native-born New Yorkers. However, some of the changes can be related to demographic changes. Increases in the population due to immigration can alter the educational composition of a particular ethnic and racial group: the new New Yorkers may be very different from the existing population. In addition, during a period as long as a decade a large number of people leave the City. We saw earlier how, on a net basis, hundreds of thousands of White New Yorkers left the City in the 1980s. Many Blacks, Hispanics and Asians have also left, although, on a net basis, more people from these racial and ethnic groups have arrived in the City than have left. Those persons leaving New York may again have different educational attainment compared to those who are left behind, changing the educational landscape of the City.

Consider the case of the Asian population, which had the greatest immigration levels during the 1990s. Table 12 provides the educational distribution of New Yorkers in 1980 compared with 1990. The Table is

**Table 12**

**Changes in Educational Attainment in New York City, 1980-1990**  
Persons 25 years of age or older

| Ancestry<br>Group    | ATTAINMENT IN 1980       |                   | ATTAINMENT IN 1990       |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
|                      | Less than<br>High School | Compl.<br>College | Less than<br>High School | Compl.<br>College |
| New York City        | 35.8                     | 19.8              | 29.6                     | 24.7              |
| <b>White Pop.</b>    | 30.3                     | 24.8              | 20.5                     | 33.6              |
| German               | 24.4                     | 28.6              | 17.0                     | 35.0              |
| Greek                | 43.8                     | 16.0              | 37.0                     | 24.2              |
| Italian              | 42.4                     | 12.3              | 31.2                     | 17.6              |
| Irish                | 25.0                     | 23.5              | 16.1                     | 30.8              |
| Russian              | 17.1                     | 42.5              | 11.1                     | 48.9              |
| <b>Black Pop.</b>    | 38.5                     | 9.8               | 33.8                     | 12.8              |
| African              | 24.7                     | 28.4              | 20.1                     | 28.4              |
| Haitian              | 25.1                     | 15.7              | 35.3                     | 15.5              |
| Other Caribbean      | 32.6                     | 11.9              | 32.6                     | 14.6              |
| Other Black          | 40.7                     | 8.9               | 36.9                     | 11.6              |
| <b>Hispanic Pop.</b> | 57.2                     | 7.1               | 51.3                     | 8.8               |
| Cuban                | 46.2                     | 15.4              | 42.7                     | 19.2              |
| Dominican            | 72.0                     | 3.8               | 61.5                     | 6.1               |
| Puerto Rican         | 61.9                     | 4.3               | 53.5                     | 6.5               |
| South American       | 41.8                     | 7.6               | 39.8                     | 12.0              |
| <b>Asian Pop.</b>    | 31.8                     | 37.5              | 30.1                     | 35.0              |
| Asian Indian         | 22.9                     | 44.6              | 23.7                     | 40.6              |
| Chinese              | 47.9                     | 22.5              | 43.5                     | 25.5              |
| Japanese             | 6.8                      | 55.5              | 5.3                      | 57.1              |
| Korean               | 15.3                     | 49.3              | 20.0                     | 33.2              |
| Vietnamese           | 43.2                     | 19.0              | 47.2                     | 12.9              |

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing 5% Public Use Micro Sample Data; see United States Department of Commerce (1983; 1993). Author's tabulations.

simplified by showing only the proportion of the population in the highest and lowest categories of attainment, which are, respectively, college completion and lack of a high school diploma. Table 12 shows that the average educational attainment of the New York City Asian population declined in the 1980s. The proportion of college graduates dropped from 37.5 percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 1990. In addition, the proportion of Asians who had not completed a high school education changed very little, from 31.8 percent to 30.1 percent.

The situation among some groups of Asians contrasts sharply with that among the White population. On average, the proportion of the White population with a college degree rose from 24.8 percent in 1980 to 33.6 percent in 1990. The proportion of Whites with less than a high school diploma, on the other hand, declined from 30.3 percent to 20.5 percent. For the Black population, there was also an increase in educational attainment, although much less significant when compared to the White population. The proportion of Blacks with a college degree in New York rose from 9.8 percent to 12.8 percent between 1980 and 1990, while the proportion without a high school diploma or certificate dropped from 38.5 percent to 33.8 percent.

### THE LINK BETWEEN EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The previous section documented the widening educational gap between the White population and most other ethnic and racial minorities in New York City. The gap is growing the most with respect to Hispanics and, in particular, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. We have also seen how these changes coincide with the shifting economic status of the various ethnic/racial groups in the City. Many forces other than education affect income, including age and on-the-job experience, participation in vocational and other training programs, and employment and wage discrimination. Education, however, constitutes the major force influencing personal income.<sup>9</sup> This section documents how education is

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<sup>9</sup> For surveys examining the determinants of income, see Polachek and Siebert (1993). The important role of racial and ethnic discrimination as a determinant of labor market outcomes has been documented recently by Turner, Fix and Struyk (1991), and Cross, Kenney, Mell and Zimmermann (1990). The significance of government employment as a determinant of income opportunities

becoming increasingly important in determining individual income.

Recent research has found that the economic gains from obtaining a greater education have increased enormously during the 1980s and early 1990s (see Blackburn, Bloom & Freeman, 1990; Levy & Murnane, 1992; Murphy & Welch, 1993; Juhn, Murphy & Pierce, 1993). Associated with this augmented economic return to education is: (1) a drop in the income of workers with low levels of education, combined with (2) increased income for those with high levels of education. Table 13 presents the change in the wages of full-time, year-round workers in the United States between 1978 and 1989. When adjusted for inflation, the wages of the average worker in the United States declined by 3.6 percent during the time period considered. However, the extent of the reduction in wages depends on the person's place on the educational ladder. As Table 13 shows, workers with less than a high school education suffered the greatest decline in wages, equal to a drop of 14.3 percent during the 1978-1989 period. Workers with a high school diploma but no college also suffered wage losses, amounting to 8.3 percent. At the same time, workers with a college degree actually received an *increase* in their wages of 7.9 percent, when adjusted for inflation.

Much research has been undertaken to determine the cause of the rise in the returns to education, especially in urban areas. Economic restructuring, in the form of a flight of blue-collar manufacturing from urban to suburban areas, replaced with an increase in White-collar service sector employment in the cities, has been postulated as an explanation for the drop of economic opportunities for unskilled, blue-collar workers (see Kasarda, 1989; Wilson, 1989). However, studies examining this hypothesis find that economic restructuring cannot explain most of the drop in the wages of unskilled workers when compared to skilled laborers.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the second column of Table 13 shows the average changes in wages, by educational level, occurring *within industries* during the 1979 to 1989 period. The figures indicate that, within an average industry in the United States, the wages of workers without a high school education declined by 11.4 percent during the time period while the wages of workers with college degrees went up by 5.6

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for particular racial and ethnic groups within urban areas has been discussed by Rivera-Batiz (1991b).

<sup>10</sup> See Bailey and Waldinger (1991) for a discussion of the hypothesis within the context of New York City.

**Table 13****Changes in American Wages, 1978-1989**

| Group                                 | All United States | Within Industries |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| All Workers                           | - 3.6             | - 3.0             |
| Workers with<br>less than high school | -14.3             | -11.4             |
| Workers with<br>high school diplomas  | - 8.3             | - 6.4             |
| Workers with<br>a College Degree      | 7.9               | 5.6               |

Source: Murphy and Welch (1993).

percent. Comparison of columns one and two of Table 13 allows the conclusion that within-industry changes explain most of the shifting wage structure in the United States.

Other studies have tried to explain the shifting American wage structure by focusing on: (1) the labor market effects of increased immigration, which has augmented the relative supply of unskilled workers in the U.S. during the 1980s; and (2) the increased import competition suffered by the United States from developing countries during this time period and the resulting decrease in the demand for unskilled labor (see Borjas, Freeman & Katz, 1992). Still, the significance of these factors in explaining the rise in the return to education is also limited (see Bhagwati & Dehejia, 1993).

The research by economists Kevin Murphy of the University of Chicago, Finis Welch of UCLA, and Alan Krueger of Princeton suggests that most of the drop in the wages of unskilled workers relative to educated labor in the United States during the 1980s is related to technological change in the workplace (see Murphy & Welch, 1993; Krueger, 1993). These technological changes, such as those relating to the use of computers, reduced the demand for unskilled workers, shifting upwards the demand for highly-educated labor. The result was an increase

in the wage premium paid to education in the labor market. These technical changes occurred across the board in terms of industries and regions. Flexible manufacturing, introduced in recent years by American firms in many industries, represents a managerial and technological system oriented to manufacturing new products quickly. The system has been installed in response to global competitive forces requiring firms to generate new models and products rapidly to markets changing rapidly. But flexible manufacturing requires workers with the thinking skills necessary to adjust quickly to shifts in production. As Bailey and Berryman (1992, p. 3) have argued: "Whenever these changes occurred [in the shift to flexible manufacturing], they ended up reducing the number of low-skill jobs, restructuring some share of low-skill jobs to require higher-level skills, and changing what workers needed to know, how they needed to use their knowledge, and the long-term value of any current stock of knowledge and skill." These changes were not restricted to manufacturing. Even in service, trade, communications, and other industries the relative demand for unskilled labor declined. The use of electronics in general in the modern workplace—whether in services, commerce or manufacturing—requires basic programming skills and a certain minimum level of quantitative literacy.<sup>11</sup>

Technological change, industrial restructuring, and the reduction in the relative supply of high-paying blue-collar jobs have all resulted in depressed labor market conditions for workers in certain regions. Most displaced workers with low levels of education are never able to recover their previous standards of living (see Jacobson et al., 1993). The drop in the wages of those with less than a high school education, and the rising economic premium associated with higher education, have led to what is now recognized as a historical change in the American wage structure during the 1980s.

The shifting American wage structure during the 1980s had its impact on New York City. Table 14 shows the average earnings of workers residing in New York City first for 1979 and then for 1989 (the 1989 earnings have been adjusted for inflation). The first two rows of Table 14 indicate that the earnings of male New Yorkers rose by 14.1 percent and those of female New Yorkers increased by 21.9 percent. The faster growth in the earnings of women relative to men implies a narrowing of the male-female earnings gap. Indeed, in 1980, men in New

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<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the role played by greater quantitative skills in raising the probability of employment in the labor market, see Rivera-Batiz (1992).



**Table 14****The Economic Returns to Education in New York City, 1980-1990**

Average Annual Earnings of Workers, 25-34 years old

| Group                                                             |       | 1980 Earnings<br>(1980 \$) | 1990 Earnings<br>(1980 \$)* | 1990-1980<br>(%Change) |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>New York City Population</b>                                   |       |                            |                             |                        |
| Total                                                             | Men   | 13,534                     | 15,450                      | 14.1                   |
|                                                                   | Women | 10,340                     | 12,605                      | 21.9                   |
| <b>New York City Population, Disaggregated by Education Level</b> |       |                            |                             |                        |
| Less than High<br>School                                          | Men   | 9,038                      | 8,945                       | -1.0                   |
|                                                                   | Women | 6,282                      | 6,043                       | -3.8                   |
| High School<br>Graduate                                           | Men   | 12,188                     | 12,255                      | 0.5                    |
|                                                                   | Women | 8,867                      | 9,110                       | 2.7                    |
| Some College                                                      | Men   | 12,927                     | 14,286                      | 10.5                   |
|                                                                   | Women | 10,412                     | 11,584                      | 11.2                   |
| College<br>Graduate                                               | Men   | 15,786                     | 19,496                      | 23.5                   |
|                                                                   | Women | 12,242                     | 15,934                      | 30.1                   |
| Post-College<br>Education                                         | Men   | 17,230                     | 25,393                      | 47.4                   |
|                                                                   | Women | 13,072                     | 19,073                      | 45.9                   |

\* The inflation-adjusted data for 1990 earnings are in 1980 dollars and have been adjusted by the change in the Consumer Price Index for the New York Metropolitan Area between 1980 and 1990 as published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Source: 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing 5% Public Use Micro Sample Data; see United States Department of Commerce (1983;1993). Author's tabulations.



York earned 30.9 percent more than women. By 1989, this gap was down to 22.6 percent.

Although the average earnings of workers in New York City increased during the 1980s, the wages of those who have not completed high school declined during the same time period (adjusted for inflation). As Table 14 displays, the inflation-adjusted earnings of male workers with less than a high school education dropped by 1 percent while the drop among women without a high school degree was 3.8 percent. For high school graduates, earnings slightly increased during the 1980s, a total of 0.5 percent for men and 2.7 percent for women. For people with some college education, the income changes in the 1980s were positive. For men with some college education, earnings during the 1980s went up by 10.5 percent while for women the increase in earnings was 11.2 percent. For college graduates, the earnings improvement was substantial: For men, earnings went up by 23.5 percent; among women, the increase was 30.1 percent. The largest gains occurred for men and women with some post-college education. For men in this group, the earnings gain during the 1980s was equal to 47.4 percent. For women, the corresponding gain was 45.9 percent.

The data suggest that higher education is associated with higher income. Furthermore, the returns to education increased to a remarkable extent in New York during the 1980s. In 1979, men with a college degree in New York had earnings that were 29.5 percent higher than men with just a high school diploma. By 1989, men with a college degree in New York had earnings that were 118 percent higher than men with just a high school diploma. In other words, the returns of a college degree relative to a high school diploma close to doubled in New York during the 1980s. Among women, a college degree in New York in 1979 was associated with earnings 65.8 percent higher than a high school diploma. By 1989 a college degree was worth 164 percent more than a high school diploma, more than double its value in 1979.

## CONCLUSIONS: THE MOSAIC AT THE CROSSROADS

New York City is at the crossroads of major demographic, social, and economic changes. These changes move the City dangerously in a spiral of growing inequality by race and ethnicity. At the center of this spiral is education. Increased educational requirements in the economy, combined with deteriorating educational achievement among the poorest

in the City, have worsened the income of racial and ethnic minorities compared to the White population. It is the challenge of the 1990s to deconstruct this spiral which is now permeating almost every aspect of life in the City.

Demographically, the 1980s dramatically changed the ethnic and racial landscape of New York City. The population of New York grew by close to one quarter of a million people in the 1980s. This expansion, however, was not uniform across the various ethnic and racial groups in the City. The increased population was fueled predominantly by growth of Hispanics and Asians, whose population rose by close to 630,000. The Black population also rose, by close to 150,000 persons. By contrast, the White population of New York actually declined by over half a million during this time period.

Most of the increased population in New York is related to immigration. Close to 900,000 legal immigrants moved to New York City between 1982 and 1991. The countries sending the largest flow of legal immigrants to New York in the 1980s were: the Dominican Republic, followed by Jamaica, China, Guyana, Haiti, the former Soviet Union, Colombia, India, Korea, and Ecuador. In terms of illegal immigration, we estimate that close to 440,000 aliens are currently living in New York City, the greatest majority of whom moved to America during the 1980s. The countries from which the illegal aliens come from reproduce the pattern of legal immigration, and include the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica. However, a large number of illegal aliens do come from countries not usually linked to undocumented migration, such as Poland, Ireland, Pakistan, Israel, Republics in the former Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom.

Because of these demographic changes, New York City became a more complex multicultural mosaic in the 1980s. But it remains a mosaic whose colors are not highly interspersed. Racial and ethnic segregation continue to permeate the City.

The distribution of the population in New York by race/ethnicity is far from uniform. Part of the racial and ethnic unevenness is clearly due to neighborhood patterns associated with the clustering of in-migrant groups. This racial and ethnic separation is linked to choices made by movers seeking family members or earlier movers. At the same time, sociological evidence suggests that residential segregation and housing discrimination are also contributing factors.

The sharp residential segregation relating to race and ethnicity in New York today is one of the key causes of income inequality. Residential segregation has served to augment educational segregation and

to sustain economic disadvantage. By clustering low-income minorities in central city neighborhoods with public educational systems suffering from financial and other difficulties, residential segregation maintains educational gaps between the minority and White populations. As this paper documents, these gaps are substantial and, for some ethnic minorities, they do not appear to be diminishing at all.

On the average, the White residents of New York have the highest levels of education in the City. According to Census figures, in 1990 as much as 31.6 percent of the White population in New York had completed college and only 21.4 percent lacked a high school diploma. On the other hand, the Hispanic population had the lowest average level of education in New York. The Census data indicate that only 8.5 percent of the Hispanic population in 1990 was completing college and as much as 51.8 percent did not have a high school diploma. Among Blacks, the situation is slightly better than for Hispanics, with 13 percent having completed college and 34.2 percent having no high school diploma. Among Asians, the distribution of education appears to be bimodal, with a comparatively high proportion of people having a college degree *and* also a high proportion not completing high school. As much as 35.4 percent of the Asian population had completed college in 1990, but 35.2 percent had not finished high school.

Remarkable as the differences in educational attainment in New York are, it is even more remarkable that, for most minority groups, the educational lag relative to Whites grew in the 1980s. Among Puerto Ricans, for instance, who constitute the majority of the Hispanic population of New York, the proportion completing college rose from 4.3 percent in 1980 to only 6.5 percent in 1990. At the same time, the proportion not completing high school decline from 61.9 percent in 1980 to just 53.5 percent in 1990. Among Asians the proportion of college graduates among the Asian population declined from 37.5 percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 1990. In addition, the proportion of Asians not completing high school changed from 31.8 percent to just 30.1 percent. This contrasts with the situation among Whites. On average, the proportion of the White population with a college degree rose from 24.8 percent in 1980 to 33.6 percent in 1990. The proportion of Whites with less than a high school diploma, on the other hand, declined from 30.3 percent to 20.5 percent. For the Black population, there was also an increase in educational attainment, although much less significant when compared to the White population. The proportion of Blacks with a college degree in New York rose from 9.8 percent to 12.8 percent between 1980 and 1990, while the proportion without a high school

diploma or certificate dropped from 38.5 percent to 33.8 percent.

The growing educational gaps according to race and ethnicity in New York are associated with widening gaps in income. The second half of the 1980s was a time of economic boom for New York City. On average, this economic progress increased the income of most New Yorkers. Measured in real terms (adjusted for inflation), the per-capita income of New Yorkers rose from \$12,765 in 1979 to \$16,412 in 1989. This expansion is mostly explained by rising earnings, and it was shared by both men and women. Indeed, the earnings of male New Yorkers rose by 14.1 in the 1980s and those of female New Yorkers increased by 21.9 percent. The faster growth in the earnings of women relative to men implies a narrowing of the male-female earnings gap. In 1980, men in New York earned 30.9 percent more than women. By 1989, this gap was down to 22.6 percent.

This income rise, however, was not equally shared among the various racial and ethnic groups of new York. Although the White population of New York City experienced a sharp increase in real income, the population of almost all other groups increased at a slower rate. Indeed, for some groups income grew hardly at all, when adjusted for inflation. For instance, persons from the Dominican Republic increased their per-capita income only from \$5,920 to \$6,336 during the decade.

The faster growth in the income of the richest in the City during the 1980s has led to increased inequality. In relative terms, when compared to Whites, African Americans, Hispanics and Asians in New York all had on average lower economic standing in 1989 than in 1979. In 1979 Blacks had achieved 52.6 percent of the per-capita income of Whites. By 1989, this proportion was down to 46.8 percent. Similarly, the proportion of Hispanic per-capita income relative to White per-capita income dropped from 43.4 percent in 1979 to 36.6 percent in 1989. For the Asian population, per-capita income relative to Whites declined from 70.2 percent in 1979 to 57.1 percent in 1989.

What explains the rising income inequality on the basis of race and ethnicity in New York City? Perhaps the strongest force determining economic outcomes is education. The distribution of income is closely related to educational attainment. The higher the economic returns of education, the greater the income disparities generated by educational differences. And this is precisely what explains the rise in inequality among New Yorkers in the 1980s. Although the average earnings of workers in New York City increased during the 1980s, the wages of those who did not complete high school *declined* during the same time period

(adjusting for inflation). The inflation-adjusted earnings of male workers with less than a high school education dropped by 1 percent while the reduction among women without a high school degree was 3.8 percent. For high school graduates, earnings slightly increased during the 1980s, a total of 0.5 percent for men and 2.7 percent for women. By contrast, for college graduates, the income changes in the 1980s were highly positive and, in fact, quite remarkable. For men with some college education, earnings during the 1980s went up by 10.5 percent while for women the increase in earnings was 11.2 percent. For men with college degrees, earnings went up by 23.5 percent and among women the increase was 30.1 percent. The largest gains occurred for people with some post-college education. For men in this group, the earnings gain during the 1980s was 47.4 percent. For women, the corresponding gain was 45.9 percent.

These data suggest that the returns to higher education increased to a remarkable extent in New York during the 1980s. In 1979, men with a college degree in New York had earnings that were 29.5 percent higher than men with just a high school diploma. By 1989, men with a college degree in New York had earnings that were 118 percent higher than men with just a high school diploma. In other words, the returns to a college degree relative to a high school diploma close to doubled in New York during the 1980s. Among women, a college degree in New York in 1979 was associated with earnings 65.8 percent higher than a high school diploma. By 1989 a college degree was worth 164 percent more than a high school diploma, more than double its value in 1979.

The climbing rewards of education, combined with a growing lag in the educational attainment of ethnic and racial minorities relative to Whites go a long way toward explaining rising inequality in New York in recent years. There are two ways of breaking this spiral. One is to increase the demand for unskilled labor, whether through public employment or through tax-subsidy programs that attract industries intensive in unskilled labor. The public employment solution appears unrealistic at the present time. In a recessionary period, public sector budget austerity is the rule, in New York and elsewhere. In terms of attracting private industry there are also problems. The key difficulty with this type of industrial policy is that, given nationwide trends, the comparative advantage of New York City in attracting industries intensive in unskilled labor has declined so much that the cost of bringing them to the City would be perhaps prohibitive. Sites in the southern United States or in Mexico are much more attractive than New York from the viewpoint of labor costs. Overall, policies to intercede with the growing

spiral of inequality by raising the demand for unskilled labor constitute swimming against the stream.

A more realistic alternative to break the spiral of inequality is to raise the educational levels of those ethnic and racial minorities with the greatest economic and skill disadvantage, both adults and children. Most of the public policies needed for doing so are well-known, although their application has been isolated, often at an experimental level. A major - integrated effort is required that incorporates all the various components needed to raise educational attainment. These may include school desegregation programs, equity in school finance, adult literacy, workfare, English as a second language programs, workplace apprenticeships, tuition and financial aid, etc.

By focusing directly on raising educational levels, while removing bias in employment, the economic situation of disadvantaged ethnic and racial minorities can be directly improved. The opportunities for highly-educated workers that emerged in New York in the 1980s can then be shared across-the-board among the various race and ethnic groups. Such an approach recognizes the changing economy and adjusts to its requirements while eliminating the barriers that have kept some groups from sharing its benefits.

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**STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS  
CONSTRAINING FISCAL RESOURCES  
IN URBAN SCHOOLS:  
THE CASE OF NEW YORK CITY**

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**INTRODUCTION**

This report assesses the likelihood of substantial improvement in New York City public education by the year 2000. We use historical data from 1980 through 1990 to extrapolate enrollment, demographic, and general fiscal forecasts through the year 2000.<sup>1</sup> Our focus then turns to

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<sup>1</sup> The extrapolation procedure used throughout this analysis is a linear forecasting method using as many years of data as were available to the authors. Whenever past data grew exponentially, we made adjustments to assure conservative estimates of forecasted values. We realize the shortcomings of this method in

trends among the at-risk population of children in New York City, a group that is of great concern to educators and policy makers. First, an investigation is made of demographic and fiscal trends for children who are at risk because they have limited English proficiency or live in poverty. Next, we examine trends among those New York City children who are at risk because of disease, abuse, and neglect. We spotlight these groups by examining their rates of growth as well as the spending levels on services currently provided to them. We must emphasize that many—but certainly not all—at risk City children are multiply at risk. In the concluding section, we assess the likelihood that American education in the twenty-first century will be able to provide New York's children with the learning conditions and social support they need to become productive members of society. In addition, several policy implications are included.<sup>2</sup>

## TRENDS

### Enrollment and Demographics

As Table 1 depicts, using the five-year period from 1986 through 1991 as a base to predict total public school enrollments, an average increase of approximately one-half percent per year leads to total enrollments of approximately 1,026,000 by the year 2000. Racial breakdowns provide a somewhat more complex picture, however. If White enrollments continue to decline at the rate of 3.26 percent throughout the remainder of the 1990s, and Asian and Hispanic enrollments continue to grow, the racial and ethnic makeup of the student body will continue to shift. Asian student enrollments will increase from 7 to nearly 13 percent and Hispanic, enrollment from 35 to 37 percent. African American enrollments will decline from 38 to 37 percent and

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arriving at declarative statements about future conditions. However, in keeping with the primary objective in this paper, we feel that this "ballpark," moderate approach will serve as a benchmark for calling attention to the potential areas of concern in urban education before future, more in-depth analyses can begin.

<sup>2</sup> The authors used the most comprehensive data available. Due to the subject matter and the timely issues presented in this paper, numerous assumptions and suppositions were made in order to utilize those data as correctly as possible. These assumptions are indicated throughout the paper.

**Table 1****New York City Public Schools:  
Student Enrollment and Forecasts**

| Year       | Enrollment | Ethnic Group |         |          |         |         |
|------------|------------|--------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
|            |            | Nat.Amer.    | Asian   | Hispanic | Black   | White   |
| 1980       | 943,805    | 476          | 38,197  | 287,494  | 363,948 | 253,690 |
| 1982       | 918,384    | 377          | 44,614  | 292,124  | 353,238 | 228,031 |
| 1984       | 931,768    | 675          | 54,287  | 308,906  | 355,763 | 212,137 |
| 1986       | 939,142    | 680          | 61,688  | 318,431  | 358,254 | 200,089 |
| 1987       | 939,933    | 823          | 65,166  | 319,216  | 361,473 | 193,255 |
| 1988       | 936,153    | 891          | 68,441  | 321,292  | 359,363 | 186,166 |
| 1989       | 938,645    | 666          | 71,963  | 324,491  | 359,289 | 182,236 |
| 1990       | 955,514    | 757          | 75,635  | 334,168  | 363,057 | 181,897 |
| 1991*      | 960,564    | 808          | 79,863  | 338,208  | 364,301 | 177,383 |
| 1992*      | 966,018    | 863          | 84,328  | 342,297  | 365,549 | 172,982 |
|            |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| % of       |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| Total      | 100.00%    | 0.09%        | 8.73%   | 35.43%   | 37.84%  | 17.91%  |
| Avg. Chg:  |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| 10 yrs.    |            | 6.75%        | 7.09%   | 1.52%    | (0.02%) | (3.26%) |
| 5 yrs.     |            | 6.75%        | 5.59%   | 1.21%    | (0.34%) | (2.48%) |
| Forecasts: |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| 1993       | 971,889    | 921          | 89,042  | 346,435  | 366,801 | 168,690 |
| 1994       | 978,188    | 983          | 94,020  | 350,623  | 368,058 | 164,504 |
| 1995       | 984,929    | 1,049        | 99,276  | 354,862  | 369,319 | 160,422 |
| 1996       | 992,124    | 1,120        | 104,826 | 359,153  | 370,584 | 156,441 |
| 1997       | 999,790    | 1,196        | 110,686 | 363,495  | 371,854 | 152,559 |
| 1998       | 1,007,941  | 1,276        | 116,874 | 367,889  | 373,128 | 148,774 |
| 1999       | 1,016,596  | 1,363        | 123,408 | 372,337  | 374,406 | 145,082 |
| 2000       | 1,025,771  | 1,455        | 130,307 | 376,838  | 375,689 | 141,482 |
|            |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| % of       |            |              |         |          |         |         |
| Total      | 100.00%    | 0.14%        | 12.70%  | 36.74%   | 36.63%  | 13.79%  |

\* Figures are estimated.

Source: New York City Board of Education (1990).



White enrollments from 18 to 14 percent. As will be discussed later in this paper, these shifts have profound implications for English as a second language (ESL) and bilingual education.

### Fiscal

Berne and Stiefel (1991), in an important and critical analysis of the fiscal crisis of the 1970s in New York City, concluded that by 1990 the public school system of New York City had still not recovered from the recession of the 1970s. New York City addressed the fiscal crisis of the 1970s by reducing positions, cutting services, reducing maintenance and capital construction, and shortening the school day by two periods.<sup>3</sup> In concrete terms, the city's school system lost 17,000 professional staff; maintenance staff was cut from 1000 to 400; and capital construction was virtually halted until the mid-1980s. In large part, the recovery following the recession of the 1970s was financed by relative reductions in salaries.

One long-term effect of the fiscal crisis was a reduction in per-pupil spending relative to the rest of the state. Berne and Stiefel conclude, "...upon graduation, a student who entered kindergarten in New York City in 1977 received less than three-quarters of the resources a student in the rest of the state had received" (1991, p. 26). As shown on the following tables, if these trends continue in the same direction as they have in recent years, the impact by the year 2000 will be considerable.

Why is New York City spending less per child? One part of the problem is that it receives fewer dollars per child than the statewide average. New York City has 36.3 percent of the state's school-age children but only receives 33 percent of the state's money (New York City Office of Management and Budget, 1991). Second, as Table 2 shows, per pupil local revenues for New York City have been steadily declining in relation to local revenues generated by the rest of the state. Because of the municipal overburdening created by the fiscal crisis of the 1970s, city school budgets have been competing with other important municipal city services, like police and fire departments. Third, tax effort for public school budgets has declined sharply from a high of 2.53 percent in 1986 to 1.58 percent in 1989.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, local tax effort

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<sup>3</sup> These two periods have since been restored.

<sup>4</sup> The definition of "tax effort" as used here is the percentage of local educational revenues as a percentage of total property value.

Table 2

Forecast of Local Revenues, Full Value of Property, and  
Local Tax Effort: New York City and Rest of State

| Year       | Per Pupil Local Revenues |                    |                | Per Pupil Full Value of Property |                    |                | Local Educational Revenues-Percentage of Full Value of Property |                    |                |
|------------|--------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
|            | NYC (\$)                 | Rest of State (\$) | Ratio NYC-Rest | NYC (\$)                         | Rest of State (\$) | Ratio NYC-Rest | NYC (\$)                                                        | Rest of State (\$) | Ratio NYC-Rest |
| 1980       | 1,816                    | 1,736              | 1.05           | 82,819                           | 80,103             | 1.03           | 2.19                                                            | 2.17               | 1.01           |
| 1982       | 2,323                    | 2,242              | 1.04           | 95,159                           | 97,275             | 0.98           | 2.44                                                            | 2.30               | 1.06           |
| 1984       | 2,588                    | 2,689              | 1.01           | 101,921                          | 108,006            | 0.94           | 2.66                                                            | 2.49               | 1.07           |
| 1986       | 2,996                    | 3,186              | 0.91           | 115,176                          | 130,984            | 0.88           | 2.53                                                            | 2.43               | 1.04           |
| 1987       | 3,181                    | 3,469              | 0.86           | 137,606                          | 151,466            | 0.91           | 2.18                                                            | 2.29               | 0.95           |
| 1988       | 3,461                    | 3,820              | 0.83           | 164,414                          | 175,208            | 0.94           | 1.93                                                            | 2.18               | 0.89           |
| 1989       | 3,610                    | 4,197              | 0.79           | 209,713                          | 206,197            | 1.02           | 1.58                                                            | 2.04               | 0.78           |
| 1990*      | 3,461                    | 4,588              | 0.75           | 242,907                          | 234,765            | 1.03           | 1.42                                                            | 1.95               | 0.73           |
| 1991*      | 3,610                    | 5,015              | 0.72           | 281,355                          | 267,291            | 1.05           | 1.28                                                            | 1.88               | 0.68           |
| 1992*      | 3,765                    | 5,482              | 0.69           | 325,889                          | 304,324            | 1.07           | 1.16                                                            | 1.80               | 0.64           |
| Avg Chg:   |                          |                    |                |                                  |                    |                |                                                                 |                    |                |
| 10 yrs     | 7.15%                    | 10.32%             |                | 11.17%                           | 11.16%             |                |                                                                 |                    |                |
| 5 yrs      | 4.29%                    | 9.31%              |                | 15.83%                           | 13.85%             |                |                                                                 |                    |                |
| Forecasts: |                          |                    |                |                                  |                    |                |                                                                 |                    |                |
| 1993       | 3,926                    | 5,993              | 0.66           | 377,471                          | 346,487            | 1.09           | 1.04                                                            | 1.73               | 0.60           |
| 1994       | 4,094                    | 6,551              | 0.62           | 437,218                          | 394,492            | 1.11           | 0.94                                                            | 1.66               | 0.56           |
| 1996       | 4,453                    | 7,828              | 0.57           | 586,580                          | 511,376            | 1.15           | 0.76                                                            | 1.53               | 0.50           |
| 1998       | 4,843                    | 9,354              | 0.52           | 786,967                          | 662,891            | 1.19           | 0.62                                                            | 1.41               | 0.44           |
| 2000       | 5,267                    | 11,178             | 0.47           | 1,055,810                        | 859,299            | 1.23           | 0.50                                                            | 1.30               | 0.38           |

\* Figures are estimated.

Source: Berne &amp; Stiefel (1991: Table 4)

has declined relative to the rest of the state. For example, in 1984 New York City's tax effort was about 7 percent above the state average; by 1989 it had declined to 78 percent of the statewide average.

As shown on Table 3, in real dollars, New York City will be spending about \$2,400 dollars per pupil less than the rest of the state by the year 2000, or about 21 percent less per child in Actual Operating Expenditures (AOE). By the year 2000, the combined impact of receiving only 94 percent of the average state revenue per-pupil and a lower local tax effort, will lead to a real dollar difference of \$4,467 per pupil or a total budgetary impact of \$4.58 billion dollars relative to the rest of the state.

## THE SOCIAL HEALTH OF NEW YORK CITY CHILDREN

Providing adequate financial resources for children is a necessary but insufficient condition for learning. In order for children to learn in school, they must be reasonably healthy, free from hunger, living in stable family circumstances, and able to attend school. Unfortunately, urban life has become increasingly hostile to children. The factors that undermine their capacity to learn are complex and distressing. We can begin by looking at trends in the social health index (Maringhoff, 1990). The index of social health provides an overview of the quality of urban life for children. It is based on the premise that the quality of life for a child is a function of a complex set of interacting variables that create the social climate in which a child lives—and too often dies. For children these are infant mortality, child abuse, poverty, teen suicide, drug abuse, and dropout rates. Since 1974 when the index was at 75 percent, it has declined steadily. By 1988, the last year for which the index was calculated, it had dropped to 44 percent—a loss of 41 points. During this period, seven of 11 factors worsened, three improved, and one remained unchanged. Those factors worsening were children in poverty, child abuse, drug abuse, poverty among adults, and the homicide rate. The infant mortality rate improved and the high school dropout rate decreased (Maringhoff, 1990).

To some extent, these trends reflect those of the nation. But, statistically, children in New York would be much better off living elsewhere. Nationally, the percentage of children in poverty has increased 25 percent since 1970; it has increased 50 percent since 1974 in New

**Table 3**  
**Inflation Adjusted Per Pupil Forecast**  
**of Expenditures & Revenues**  
**New York City and Rest of State, 1980-2000**  
 (1989 dollars)

| Year       | Per Pupil AOE |                          |               | Per Pupil State Revenue |                          |               | Per Pupil Local Revenue |                          |               | Comb.<br>Dollar<br>Diff. |
|------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
|            | NYC<br>(\$)   | Rest of<br>State<br>(\$) | Ratio<br>(\$) | NYC<br>(\$)             | Rest of<br>State<br>(\$) | Ratio<br>(\$) | NYC<br>(\$)             | Rest of<br>State<br>(\$) | Ratio<br>(\$) |                          |
| 1980       | 3,228         | 3,756                    | 0.86          | 1,587                   | 1,973                    | 0.80          | 2,733                   | 2,613                    | 1.05          | 266                      |
| 1982       | 3,703         | 4,058                    | 0.91          | 1,767                   | 2,114                    | 0.84          | 2,985                   | 2,881                    | 1.04          | 243                      |
| 1984       | 4,355         | 4,578                    | 0.95          | 1,921                   | 2,357                    | 0.82          | 3,233                   | 3,209                    | 1.01          | 412                      |
| 1986       | 4,957         | 5,228                    | 0.95          | 2,334                   | 2,793                    | 0.84          | 3,291                   | 3,605                    | 0.91          | 773                      |
| 1987       | 5,157         | 5,525                    | 0.93          | 2,532                   | 3,005                    | 0.84          | 3,270                   | 3,786                    | 0.86          | 989                      |
| 1988       | 5,326         | 5,851                    | 0.91          | 2,648                   | 3,226                    | 0.82          | 3,334                   | 4,004                    | 0.83          | 1,248                    |
| 1989       | 5,500         | 6,125                    | 0.90          | 2,885                   | 3,391                    | 0.85          | 3,319                   | 4,197                    | 0.79          | 1,384                    |
| 1990*      | 5,765         | 6,492                    | 0.89          | 3,131                   | 3,647                    | 0.86          | 3,342                   | 4,429                    | 0.75          | 1,603                    |
| 1991*      | 6,042         | 6,882                    | 0.88          | 3,397                   | 3,923                    | 0.87          | 3,365                   | 4,673                    | 0.72          | 1,834                    |
| 1992*      | 6,333         | 7,295                    | 0.87          | 3,686                   | 4,219                    | 0.87          | 3,388                   | 4,931                    | 0.69          | 2,075                    |
| Avg.Chg:   |               |                          |               |                         |                          |               |                         |                          |               |                          |
| 10 yrs     | 6.15%         | 5.60%                    |               | 6.92%                   | 6.23%                    |               | 2.39%                   | 5.41%                    |               |                          |
| 5 yrs      | 4.29%         | 9.31%                    |               | 8.15%                   | 7.55%                    |               | 0.69%                   | 5.52%                    |               |                          |
| Forecasts: |               |                          |               |                         |                          |               |                         |                          |               |                          |
| 1993       | 6,638         | 7,732                    | 0.86          | 4,000                   | 4,538                    | 0.88          | 3,412                   | 5,203                    | 0.66          | 2,329                    |
| 1994       | 6,957         | 8,196                    | 0.85          | 4,340                   | 4,881                    | 0.89          | 3,435                   | 5,490                    | 0.63          | 2,595                    |
| 1995       | 7,292         | 8,688                    | 0.84          | 4,710                   | 5,249                    | 0.90          | 3,459                   | 5,793                    | 0.60          | 2,873                    |
| 1996       | 7,643         | 9,209                    | 0.83          | 5,110                   | 5,649                    | 0.91          | 3,483                   | 6,112                    | 0.57          | 3,165                    |
| 1997       | 8,011         | 9,762                    | 0.82          | 5,545                   | 6,073                    | 0.91          | 3,507                   | 6,449                    | 0.54          | 3,469                    |
| 1998       | 8,397         | 10,347                   | 0.81          | 6,017                   | 6,531                    | 0.92          | 3,532                   | 6,805                    | 0.52          | 3,788                    |
| 1999       | 8,801         | 10,968                   | 0.80          | 6,529                   | 7,025                    | 0.93          | 3,556                   | 7,181                    | 0.50          | 4,120                    |
| 2000       | 9,224         | 11,626                   | 0.79          | 7,085                   | 7,555                    | 0.94          | 3,581                   | 7,577                    | 0.47          | 4,467                    |

\* Figures are estimated.

Source: Beme & Stiefel (1991: Table 2B).

York City. The percentage of children in poverty in New York City has hovered around 36 percent for the past several years (Community Service Society of New York, 1991). Even more distressing, violence against children has risen dramatically. Since 1974, reported cases of child abuse have increased 300 percent (New York City Human Resources Administration, 1989).

Even if adequate funding for schools were available, the quality of urban life has deteriorated so severely that the normal budgets for regular classroom instruction will not begin to serve the needs of at-risk children. In an effort to combat these problems, state and local school budgets include special funds. We will now examine demographic and fiscal trends for students who are at risk because they are not proficient in English as well as those who are at risk because their families live in poverty.

## STUDENTS WITH LANGUAGE NEEDS

### Growth in Limited English Proficiency Students

Limited English Proficiency students are divided into two groups according to their language background: those who are Spanish-sumamed and/or come from a home where Spanish is spoken, and those who come from a home where a language other than English or Spanish is spoken, such as Chinese, Greek, Russian, etc. (New York City Board of Education, 1985).

**Assessment.** In order to identify students who are entitled to bilingual or ESL programs, the Language Assessment Battery, or LAB test, was developed to assess English language proficiency. Students who score at or below the twenty-first percentile are classified LEP and are entitled to participate in a bilingual program. In the 1989-90 school year, the LAB cutoff score for LEP identification changed from below the twenty-first percentile to the forty-first percentile. Whether the fortieth percentile is an appropriate exit point is beyond the scope of this study and will not be analyzed. However, this change did add about 16,000 more students to bilingual entitlement (New York City Board of Education, 1992).

**Demographics.** During the four-year period from 1988 through 1991, the number of LEP eligible students in the city steadily increased from 101,000 in 1988 to about 130,000 students (see Table 4). The LEP students constitute 12 percent of all students in the New York City public

school system and about 80 percent of the State's LEP students (New York State Department of Education, 1992).

Adjusted by the changing cutoff score of the LAB test, the average growth rate of LEP eligible students is 6 percent each year. Based on the average growth rate, as Table 4 indicates, it is expected that the City's public school system will have 146,574 LEP-eligible students in 1993 and 222,326 by the year 2000, which will account for 20 percent of the total New York City student population.

*The Immigration Variables.* This forecast may not, however, represent an accurate picture of the increase of LEP students in the city's public schools because of the influx of new immigrants in recent years. According to an annual report issued by the New York City Board of Education, about 120,000 immigrants from 167 countries have entered the New York City public schools over the past three years, all of whom are potential LEP eligible students (Berger, 1992). Most of these immigrants originate from countries such as the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, China, and the former Soviet Union. It is also expected that an influx of children from Eastern European nations will place new demands upon the city's public schools due to the uncertain economic and social conditions in these countries.

### Funding

Funding for immigrant language programs is provided by a combination of city, state, and federal programs (see Table 4). In the 1990 school year, total funding for LEP students was \$238 million. Of these funds, the federal government contributed 23 percent, the state provided 44 percent, and the city supplied 33 percent. The average growth rates were 6.6 percent in federal funding, 18.6 percent in state funding, and 9.7 percent in city tax levy funds. The total funding for LEP students is projected to reach \$980 million by the year 2000.

Generally, total funding divided by the number of students will indicate per pupil expenditures. However, this kind of calculation misrepresents the relationship between dollars and students in LEP programs since some LEP students may receive bilingual instructional and support services from a variety of funding sources to meet their educational needs (New York City Board of Education, 1988). For example, some LEP students may be enrolled in a tax-levy-funded bilingual class, receive supplementary ESL instruction from a Pupils with Compensatory Educational Needs (PCEN) funded teacher, acquire

**Table 4**

**Funding for NYC LEP Students and Forecasts**  
(in thousands, constant 1990 dollars)

| Year      | Students | Federal   | State     | Local*    | TOTAL     |
|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1988      | 101,472  | \$49,293  | \$74,578  | \$63,691  | \$187,562 |
| 1989      | 102,934  | \$55,667  | \$84,504  | \$69,862  | \$210,034 |
| 1990      | 117,416  | \$55,812  | \$104,693 | \$77,639  | \$238,144 |
| 1991      | 130,125  | \$59,825  | \$124,241 | \$85,162  | \$269,228 |
| 1992      | 138,105  | \$64,316  | \$149,648 | \$93,413  | \$307,378 |
| Avg Chg   | 6.13%    | 6.60%     | 18.60%    | 9.69%     |           |
| Forecast: |          |           |           |           |           |
| 1993      | 146,574  | \$ 69,340 | \$177,603 | \$102,465 | \$349,407 |
| 1994      | 155,562  | \$ 74,957 | \$213,964 | \$112,393 | \$401,314 |
| 1995      | 165,102  | \$ 81,234 | \$257,807 | \$123,283 | \$462,324 |
| 1996      | 175,226  | \$ 88,247 | \$310,676 | \$135,229 | \$534,152 |
| 1997      | 185,972  | \$ 96,081 | \$374,439 | \$148,331 | \$618,851 |
| 1998      | 197,376  | \$104,827 | \$451,348 | \$162,704 | \$718,879 |
| 1999      | 209,480  | \$114,591 | \$544,126 | \$178,469 | \$837,186 |
| 2000      | 222,326  | \$125,488 | \$656,060 | \$195,761 | \$977,310 |

\* Tax levy expenditures for high school and special education bilingual/ESL programs.

Sources: New York City Board of Education (1991, 1992).

remedial native language reading from a Chapter 1 paraprofessional, obtain guidance services from a Title VII counselor, and receive instructional materials provided through Immigrant Program funds. Therefore, simply dividing total funding by the number of LEP students may present a biased picture of actual per-pupil disbursement. For example, in Table 5 we see that per-pupil expenditure levels vary among programs from \$66 to \$2,107.



**Table 5**  
**Bilingual and ESL Program Funding**  
**Community School Districts, 1988-89**

| Funding Sources | Total Budget | Students Served | Per Pupil Expenditures |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------|
|                 | (A)          | (B)             | (C=A/B)                |
| Tax Levy        | \$69,862,362 | 33,152          | \$2,107                |
| PCEN            | \$48,248,052 | 39,479          | \$1,222                |
| Chapter I       | \$20,886,340 | 19,598          | \$1,066                |
| Title VII       | \$ 9,091,669 | 14,434          | \$ 630                 |
| Immigrant       | \$ 2,545,523 | 38,703          | \$ 66                  |

Source: New York City Board of Education. (1988).

### Program Deficits for LEP Students

The growth rate of LEP funding sources would seem optimistic; however, this does not mean that LEP students now have or will get an adequate and appropriate education. Two phenomena merit attention.

First, about two-thirds of LEP-eligible students do not have an opportunity to receive a full bilingual program. According to the Consent Decree, the Lau Decision, and an agreement with the U.S. Office of Civil Rights, all children identified as LEP must receive a full bilingual program, which includes instruction in english as a second language (ESL), native language arts, and three or more subjects in their native language (Educational Priorities Panel, 1985). However, this is not the case for the City's LEP-entitled students. In the 1991 school year, the LAB test identified 130,125 students as entitled to bilingual services. Of these, only 35 percent received a full bilingual program. In addition, 16 percent received a partial program, and another 38 percent received ESL only, leaving more than 13,170 students without any legally-required bilingual services (New York City Board of Education, 1992).

This leads to a second phenomenon—the shortage of certified teachers. In 1991, while 12 percent of total New York City students were

LEP eligible, about 8 percent of teachers held in bilingual or ESL teaching positions. Not all of these teachers possessed a bilingual or ESL license/certification (New York City Board of Education, 1991). The shortage of certified bilingual or ESL teachers is even worse for certain immigrant groups who have not historically been well represented in the city, such as Eastern Europeans. Students in these immigrant categories are assigned to regular classes and pulled out for 45 minutes of ESL instruction each day.

In short, although the growth of funding for LEP programs is rising faster than the number of eligible students, evidence indicates that efforts to help LEP students are hardly sufficient. The cost of funding full bilingual programs as required by law is far higher than the growth rate projected for the year 2000. Further, even if the funding were available, it is unlikely that the available pool of bilingual teachers would be large enough to meet the demand. And finally, the bilingual education system is particularly vulnerable to an influx of immigrant children from Russia and Eastern Europe.

## STUDENTS WITH FINANCIAL NEEDS

### Demographic Trends

**Reported Data.** Poverty encompasses many subjective and unmeasurable characteristics; the measure we use as a proxy is the number of students who qualify for federally subsidized free and reduced-price meal programs. Students qualify for these programs if their family is eligible for food stamps or Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits, or if their family's annual income is below specified levels that vary by family size. As an example, for the 1986-87 school year, a pupil from a family of four with annual income below \$14,300 qualified for free lunch and a pupil from a family of four with an annual income below \$20,350 qualified for a reduced-price lunch. According to the New York State Department of Education (1992), school children in New York City constitute 60 percent of all poor children in the state. In the 1989-90 school year, 64 percent of the City's school children qualified for either free lunch or reduced-price lunches. Of these children, 55 percent participated in free lunch programs and 9 percent received reduced-price lunches (New York City Board of Education, 1992).

The applications for free or reduced-price lunch in the city's public schools increased from 617,509 in 1985 to 640,910 in 1987. From 1988 to 1989, the numbers declined to 594,355 but thereafter increased

to reach 636,838 in 1991—almost the 1987 level. Based on these data, we forecasted the number of applications for free and reduced-price meal programs in the city by the year 2000 and estimated that, at the lower bound, the number of students in poverty would reach 678,000, or approximately two out of three students (see Table 6). However, for the reasons specified below, the number could be as high as 75 percent, or three out of four.

**Uncounted Students.** Although data on the percent of pupils in each school who apply for free and reduced-price lunch programs are routinely collected, they underestimate the actual needs of students for four important reasons.

First, the numbers collected by the school board indicate program applicants, not the total number of students *eligible* for free and reduced-price lunch. Since the program is voluntary, students must apply for the program; the number reported is somewhat lower than the number of students eligible (New York City Board of Education, 1992). Furthermore, elementary and junior high school students are much more likely to apply for the program than high school students. High school students are more sensitive to the possible negative stigma of the program, have less parental guidance directing them to apply, and are less dependent upon the service, as they have more opportunities for meals outside the school system.

Second, the New York City child poverty rate increased steadily each year during the five-year period from 1986 through 1990. Except for 1988, when the poverty rate dropped one-half of one percent from the previous year, the child poverty rate increased from 35.4 percent in 1986 to 40 percent in 1990 (Community Service Society of New York, 1991). Poor children are "going up like a bullet on the charts," according to David Johns, president of the Community Service Society of New York. Eight hundred thousand children—almost 40 percent of the city's youngsters—live in poverty. That is 210,000 more children than a decade ago.

Third, the jobless rate also jumped significantly in 1992. Unemployment in the city was 11.5 percent as compared with 7.8 percent nationwide in June 1992. If the current recession persists, more children will inevitably be pushed onto the poverty rolls.

Finally, conditions of poverty and racial and ethnic status are strongly related (Beme & Tobier, 1991). According to a recent report issued by the Community Service Society of New York, African American and Hispanic children accounted for nearly 85 percent of the city's poor children in 1991 (Community Service Society, 1991). As

**Table 6**

**Aid to NYC: Low Income Students and Forecasts**  
(constant 1990 dollars)

| Year      | Students | Federal<br>(,000) | State<br>(,000) | TOTAL<br>(,000) | Per Pupil<br>Expenditure |
|-----------|----------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1985      | 617,509  | \$377,539         | \$10,012        | \$387,551       | \$ 628                   |
| 1986      | 617,174  | \$405,477         | \$11,616        | \$417,093       | \$ 676                   |
| 1987      | 640,910  | \$374,117         | \$12,427        | \$386,544       | \$ 603                   |
| 1988      | 616,366  | \$386,957         | \$12,293        | \$399,249       | \$ 648                   |
| 1989      | 594,355  | \$416,660         | \$11,228        | \$427,888       | \$ 720                   |
| 1990      | 607,459  | \$466,784         | \$13,398        | \$480,182       | \$ 790                   |
| 1991      | 636,838  | \$496,817         | \$11,401        | \$508,218       | \$ 798                   |
| 1992*     | 641,279  | \$520,936         | \$11,638        | \$532,574       | \$ 830                   |
| Avg Chg   | 0.70%    | 4.37%             | 0.33%           |                 |                          |
| Forecast: |          |                   |                 |                 |                          |
| 1993      | 644,750  | \$546,660         | \$11,941        | \$558,601       | \$ 865                   |
| 1994      | 650,253  | \$574,097         | \$12,315        | \$586,412       | \$ 902                   |
| 1995      | 654,787  | \$603,363         | \$12,768        | \$616,130       | \$ 941                   |
| 1996      | 659,352  | \$634,578         | \$13,307        | \$647,885       | \$ 983                   |
| 1997      | 663,950  | \$667,875         | \$13,942        | \$681,817       | \$1,027                  |
| 1998      | 668,580  | \$703,392         | \$14,683        | \$718,075       | \$1,074                  |
| 1999      | 673,241  | \$741,278         | \$15,541        | \$756,819       | \$1,124                  |
| 2000      | 677,936  | \$781,692         | \$16,530        | \$798,222       | \$1,177                  |

\* Figures in 1992 are estimated.

Sources: New York State Department of Education (1992); New York City Comptroller's Office (various years).

mentioned above, Hispanic enrollments are increasing, African American enrollments are essentially stable, and White enrollments are declining. Therefore one can expect that the total number of students in poverty will continue to grow throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. Poverty, in turn, increases the negative social pressure on children and

substantially raises their risk of school failure.

### Funding

As Table 6 indicates, funding for pupils in poverty comes mostly from the federal government. In 1986, the total federal subsidy for low-income students was \$405 million. In 1991, there was a 23 percent increase to \$497 million. Based on the five-year average growth rate, the total funding for low-income students will reach \$798 million by the year 2000.

To determine whether funding was adequate, we divided the total state and federal aid by the number of low-income students and found that, by the year 2000, per-pupil state and federal aid for children in poverty will be \$1,177 (see Table 6). Given the fact that per-pupil aid for low-income students was \$798 in 1991, a \$379 increase over the next nine years will neither cover the cost of inflation nor be sufficient to provide these students with proper support services and nutrition. Using state and federal aid figures provided by the New York City Comptroller's Office and forecasting to the year 2000, we estimate the lunch subsidy to be about \$1.42 per day and a Chapter I educational subsidy of \$5 per student (New York City Comptroller's Office, various years).

## STUDENTS WITH HEALTH NEEDS

A myriad of health and social problems have exacerbated the deterioration of the already-threatened urban family. While the growing percentage of single-parent households in poverty is a national phenomenon, it is even more devastating in urban areas such as New York City. Moreover in 1989, the New York State Education Department classified one out of ten school children as disabled in some way. The school system may soon be overwhelmed by the number and type of responsibilities it is forced to assume. One troubling indicator is the fact that the New York City Department of Health increased the number of medical screening teams provided to the Board of Education by 283 percent between 1985 and 1986 alone (United Hospital Fund, 1987). In addition, many privately co-sponsored projects have been developed to address the emotional and physical effects of substance abuse and AIDS as well as nutrition and general health concerns.

The discussion below, and accompanying tables, provide an indication, from the often scant and incomplete data available, of the

health problems New York City's children and school system will face together in the remainder of this decade.

### Children with AIDS

**Demographics.** The monthly AIDS Surveillance Report of the New York City Department of Health (DOH) is one of the most widely recognized and cited tracking sources for pediatric AIDS data. The most current report cites a cumulative total of 916 cases of pediatric AIDS in New York City (children 0 to 13 years of age). This represents 26 percent of the total cases of pediatric AIDS nationwide. Although in the past few years reported cases have fluctuated, the average increase in the incidence of pediatric AIDS in New York from 1986 through 1992 was about 22 percent (see Table 7). The number of HIV-positive city children from ages 13 to 21 more than doubled—from 111 cases to 250 cases—over the four-year period from 1987 to 1991. Only 3 percent of the nation's 13- to 21-year-old live in New York City, yet 20 percent of all reported AIDS cases in this age range are in the city (AIDS Program Services, 1992).

While these numbers are startling, they have received criticism for severely underreporting the extent of AIDS among children. Estimates of underreporting range from 3 to 8 children for each reported case. Conservatively this extrapolates to over 1,800 cases for children under 13 years of age—the upper bound is over 7000 cases (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989; New York City Department of Health & Association for the Care of Children's Health, 1989). The DOH has publicly stated the probability of at least two to three AIDS-related cases for each AIDS-diagnosed child. It claims that New York City is home to one-third of the nation's pediatric AIDS cases with an estimated 1,600 to 4,400 HIV-infected children under the age of 13 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990b). One piece of evidence to support the claims of those who argue for the upper bound was reported by the Citizen's Committee for Children in 1988. The committee surveyed 20 hospitals in the City by telephone. A total of 828 children were found to have Center for Disease Control-defined AIDS or clinically apparent symptoms of HIV infection, and an additional 201 infants were reported by hospitals to have latent or inapparent HIV infection. During the same time period, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services AIDS Surveillance Report identified only 134 children—one-eighth to one-sixth of the cases reported in the hospital survey. The United Hospital Fund (1987) has noted the difficulties of measuring the health status of New York City children. Since only deaths and a limited number of diseases

**Table 7****Pediatric AIDS—Reported Cases and Forecasts:  
New York City and United States\***

| Year       | New York City | United States | % of US cases in NYC |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 1966       | 104           | 310           | 34%                  |
| 1987       | 124           | 421           | 29%                  |
| 1988       | 143           | 549           | 26%                  |
| 1989       | 141           | 640           | 22%                  |
| 1990       | 158           | 650           | 24%                  |
| 1991       | 97            | 421           | 23%                  |
| 1992*      | 118           | 524           | 23%                  |
| Avg Chg:   | 22.06%        | 24.43%        |                      |
| Forecasts: |               |               |                      |
| 1993       | 145           | 652           | 22%                  |
| 1994       | 176           | 811           | 22%                  |
| 1995       | 215           | 1,009         | 21%                  |
| 1996       | 263           | 1,256         | 21%                  |
| 1997       | 321           | 1,562         | 21%                  |
| 1998       | 392           | 1,944         | 20%                  |
| 1999       | 478           | 2,419         | 20%                  |
| 2000       | 583           | 3,009         | 19%                  |

\* Cases reported as of 3/31/92 for children <13 years of age.

Sources: New York City Aids Surveillance Report: April 1992; New York City Department of Health, Aids Surveillance Unit.

must be reported, there is currently no system of collecting data on the rate of occurrence of most disabling childhood diseases. Social scientists Brecher and Horton (1990) have pointed out that despite the great number of children's service agencies, there is no central agency to gather comprehensive data, assess needs, and do planning. Even if we are underestimating the scope of the problem by using poor data, it is evident



that AIDS is a serious health hazard to New York City children. In 1986 AIDS replaced influenza and pneumonia as the fifth leading cause of death among children age 1 to 14. By 1990 AIDS was considered the number one cause of death among children between the ages of 1 and 4.

Although there is no consensus on the life expectancy of a child born infected with the AIDS virus, due to the aggressive medical treatments now available with drugs such as AZT, the average life expectancy has been extended to about seven years. When the illness develops in children of 5 or 6 years of age the survival prognosis expands dramatically to encompass a wide range of life expectancy estimates depending on the treatment and care received. The fortunate children who receive health care for the HIV infection receive care at home but still require outpatient care once or twice a month, and hospitalizations two to three times a year. Dr. David E. Rogers, head of the New York State AIDS Advisory Council and the Mayor's AIDS Task Force, has already concluded that the increasing numbers of AIDS patients needing such care will undoubtedly cause additional strain on the already overburdened health care system (Lockhart & Wodarski, 1989; Altman, 1990). A 1989 study by the DOH reported cumulative statistics since 1987 that show 1 in 1,000 babies born to 15-year-old mothers and 1 in 100 babies born to 19-year-old carrying antibodies of the AIDS virus.<sup>5</sup> The number of New York City females who were diagnosed with AIDS as of March 1992 was 6,021—a 36 percent increase since 1990. Over 74 percent of these women were of childbearing age, 20- to 39-years-old (AIDS Program Services, 1992). A person infected with the virus that causes AIDS can either develop the symptoms of AIDS immediately or live another ten or more years before signs of AIDS appear. Therefore, many more young women may be infected than have been reported and more children may be infected than future trends have estimated based on reported cases.

**AIDS Education, Programs, and Funding.** Is the New York City system able to handle the needs of this growing population of "special" children? New York City is required by law to provide homebound education and services for students with special needs, yet only two overworked full-time staff members currently serve high school

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<sup>5</sup> Women infected with HIV can pass the virus to their babies during pregnancy, during birth, or while breast-feeding. If a woman is infected before or during pregnancy, her child has between a 33 and 60 percent chance of being born with the virus, and there is no treatment to prevent this transmission (Associated Press, 1990).

children, providing mostly crisis counseling and very little planning.<sup>6</sup>

The New York City Board of Education does provide free, mandatory public AIDS education for almost one million school-age children in its health education curriculums and substance abuse prevention programs, however, specific AIDS curriculum materials have been developed for use throughout the city's high schools and incorporated into the graduation requirements for high school seniors. Educational materials define AIDS, its symptoms, methods of transmission, and ways to control. A minimum of six instruction sessions on AIDS/HIV are required per year in grades seven through twelve (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990b).

Over three-quarters of the funding for AIDS-related health education comes from the city. The New York City Office of Management and Budget (1990) has estimated that the Board of Education will receive over 3 percent of the total city funds appropriated for AIDS in 1991, totalling nearly \$9 million. State and federal funds for 1991 are estimated at \$400,000 and \$446,000, respectively, and are forecasted to remain at exactly the same level for the next three fiscal years. Based on projections provided by the Office of Management and Budget, trends in total AIDS appropriations to the Board of Education for health education are only increasing on average by 1.45 percent, yielding the trend shown in Table 8. We forecast that by the year 2000 there will be an annual per-pupil expenditure on AIDS health education of \$10.

In addition to government funds, many private, non-profit agencies in New York City are involved in AIDS care and prevention. Programs provided by organizations such as the AIDS Institute and the AIDS and Adolescence network of NY seem to be expanding in the areas of outreach, education, maternal services, and family assistance. Although it is difficult to get an aggregate estimate of the extent of these services and their long-range effects because of poor reporting practices, it has been estimated that more than 20 percent of the cost of caring for children with AIDS results from educational rather than medical demands (New York City Department of Health, 1990).

As the trends illustrate, AIDS funding is not increasing as quickly as the reported incidence of AIDS and AIDS-related trauma that children are experiencing in New York City. More at-risk children will be entering the school system throughout the 1990s. The demand for

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<sup>6</sup> Information received through interviews with individuals at the New York City Board of Education.

**Table 8**

**Aids Appropriations by the Board of Education  
Health Education Programs (K-12)\***

| Year       | Federal<br>(,000) | State<br>(,000) | City<br>(,000) | Total<br>(,000) |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1991       | \$ 446            | \$ 400          | \$ 8,974       | \$ 9,820        |
| 1992       | \$ 446            | \$ 400          | \$ 9,116       | \$ 9,962        |
| 1993       | \$ 446            | \$ 400          | \$ 9,261       | \$10,107        |
| 1994       | \$ 446            | \$ 400          | \$ 9,408       | \$10,254        |
| Avg Chg:   | 0.00%             | 0.00%           | 1.59%          |                 |
| Forecasts: |                   |                 |                |                 |
| 1995       | \$ 544            | \$ 488          | \$11,706       | \$12,739        |
| 1996       | \$ 677            | \$ 596          | \$14,565       | \$15,838        |
| 1997       | \$ 843            | \$ 727          | \$18,123       | \$19,693        |
| 1998       | \$1,049           | \$ 888          | \$22,549       | \$24,486        |
| 1999       | \$1,305           | \$1,084         | \$28,057       | \$30,445        |
| 2000       | \$1,623           | \$1,323         | \$34,910       | \$37,856        |

\* Values above include all health care programs involving AIDS education and prevention.

Source: New York City OMB, Estimated Appropriations for Aids in NYC, 1991 Executive Budget.

health care, educational, and psychological services as a result of children afflicted with AIDS, coupled with the exponential increase in the number of bereaved children in the schools system who have lost family members or peers, are already overwhelming available resources.

#### **Parent Substance Abuse**

**Demographics.** Another condition affecting the ability of New York City children to learn is substance abuse. From 1981 through 1987 the number of infants with fetal drug exposure reported on birth certificates increased almost 40 percent per year to reach an estimated

13,267 cases in the year 1992 (New York Human Resources Administration, 1989). We have projected that at a 39-percent growth rate, more than 180,000 children will be born in the year 2000 with fetal drug exposure (see Table 9). By the year 2008, over half of all K-12 children will have been drug exposed. However, according to the DOH, these figures are regarded as unrealistically low since birth certificate reporting is known to significantly underestimate the extent of narcotic exposure of newborns. Indeed, the DOH connected nearly one-fourth of Central Harlem infant deaths with drug abusing mothers. This conclusion is based on discrepancies such as the following: in a 1986 DOH review of 12 city hospitals, medical records indicated 7.2 percent of the mothers were drug abusers while only 2.9 percent of the births were reported as such on the birth certificates (New York City Department of Health, 1989). Most of these children will enter the school system in regular classes without ever being diagnosed for learning or emotional disabilities caused by fetal drug exposure.

The growth rates for maternal substance abuse are skyrocketing. The Department of Health reports increases in births to substance abusing mothers to be as high as 3,000 percent since 1989 (Bollinger & Pierson, 1990). Dr. Ira Chasnoff, founder and president of Chicago's National Association for Perinatal Addiction Research and Education, has stated that nothing like crack has ever been seen in terms of its potential harm to the unborn (Chasnoff, 1988). Harlem Hospital typically reports 50 to 70 percent of the newborns in neonatal intensive care as testing positive for cocaine, but uses a test which only detects the cocaine that has been ingested shortly before birth, therefore leaving a large number of cases undetected. These and other statistics have prompted the DOH to project that 5 percent of all babies and 10 percent of all non-White babies will require admission to intensive care units by 1995. Most of these hospital units were already running at 100 percent capacity in 1989, with Harlem Hospital running at 200 percent capacity (French, 1989).

*Effects of Fetal Drug Exposure.* There are many possible consequences for fetal drug exposure. Of the children who survive the trauma of birth, many suffer from neonatal abstinence syndrome, characterized by hyperactivity and developmental disorders such as poor motor coordination, poor attention span, and visual problems. At 3 to 6 years of age, it is common for a child exposed to drugs to perform more poorly on tests for cognitive ability; and from ages 8 to 17, school problems commonly develop, with the likelihood of delinquent behavior including substance abuse and isolation from those around them. Often

**Table 9****Substance Abuse Related Reports and Allocation of Funds and Forecast**

| Year       | Related Reported Cases |         |         | Allocation of Funds |        |        |            |
|------------|------------------------|---------|---------|---------------------|--------|--------|------------|
|            | Parent                 | Child   | Total   | Federal             | State  | Local  | Total      |
| 1986       | 1,314                  | 1,314   | 2,627   |                     |        |        |            |
| 1987       | 1,990                  | 2,533   | 4,523   |                     |        |        |            |
| 1988       | 2,613                  | 4,264   | 6,877   | N/A                 | 16,892 | 4,576  | 21,468**   |
| 1989       | 2,924                  | 6,507   | 9,431   | 4,309               | 17,892 | 7,127  | 529,329*** |
| 1990*      | 3,847                  | 9,420   | 13,267  | 4,525               | 18,265 | 10,064 | 532,855*** |
| 1991*      | 5,061                  | 13,267  | 18,328  | 10,713              | 19,087 | 8,670  | 238,470*** |
| 1992*      | 6,658                  | 13,267  | 19,926  | 11,249              | 19,883 | 11,071 | 42,203     |
| Avg.Chg:   |                        |         |         |                     |        |        |            |
|            | 31.57%                 | 38.87%* |         | 5.00%**             | 4.17%  | 27.70% |            |
| Forecasts: |                        |         |         |                     |        |        |            |
| 1993       | 8,760                  | 18,424  | 27,184  | 11,812              | 20,712 | 14,138 | 46,662     |
| 1994       | 11,525                 | 25,586  | 37,111  | 12,403              | 21,575 | 18,055 | 52,033     |
| 1995       | 15,163                 | 35,531  | 50,695  | 13,024              | 22,474 | 23,056 | 58,554     |
| 1996       | 19,950                 | 49,342  | 69,292  | 13,675              | 23,411 | 29,443 | 66,530     |
| 1997       | 26,248                 | 68,521  | 94,769  | 14,360              | 24,387 | 37,600 | 76,346     |
| 1998       | 34,533                 | 95,156  | 129,689 | 15,078              | 25,403 | 48,015 | 88,497     |
| 1999       | 45,434                 | 132,142 | 177,577 | 15,833              | 26,462 | 61,316 | 103,611    |
| 2000       | 59,776                 | 183,506 | 243,283 | 16,625              | 27,565 | 78,302 | 122,492    |

\* Children's average change based on slowing rate of increase which plateaued by 1992.

\*\* 1989 and 1990 figures used to arrive at forecasts. Special funding in 1991 is not likely to continue in the future.

\* Figures are estimated.

\*\* Does not include anticipated accruals of \$875,000 which did not materialize as were reported FY'88 report.

\*\*\* Includes \$500,000 in private grants in FY's 89 and 90 and \$200,000 in private grants FY'91.

Sources: Column 3 and 3: New York City Human Resources Administration, (1989), column 5 through 7: New York City Board of Education, Office of Budget Operations and Review, Allocation Formulas, 1987-1991.

exacerbated by parental neglect, these children are at risk of developing a wide variety of abnormal behavior patterns that health care experts, educators, and mental health specialists are having difficulty diagnosing and understanding (Blakeslee, 1989; Callaci, 1989; Chira, 1990; Daley, 1991; Viadero, 1990).

With the fetus acting like a dependent sponge inside the placenta, what harmful effects an addicted mother doesn't force upon her child in the form of cocaine, she presents in the form of her own anorexia, malnutrition, and anemia. Given the overwhelming lack of prenatal care, Dr. Judy Howard, professor of pediatrics at the UCLA medical school predicts that some inner-city schools' classrooms will be comprised of as many as 40 to 60 percent cocaine-exposed babies within the next few years. It is difficult at this point to diagnose these children, given the variety of drugs taken by their mothers, intervals in which the drugs were used, and abusive conditions present after birth. The most severely damaged children are either detected at birth or suffer from overt symptoms such as seizures, cerebral palsy, or mental retardation. Children who escape overt symptoms, suffer from sudden mood swings, extreme passivity, lack of emotion, slow language acquisition, and mild speech impairment. Many of these children find it difficult to concentrate and remember, have trouble interpreting nonverbal signs, and are easily frustrated (Chira, 1990; Howard, 1989; Fink, 1989).

**Child Welfare.** The explosion in drug and alcohol abuse by adults aggravates children's exposure to neglect, physical abuse, poverty, teenage parenthood, and homelessness. New York State already has the nation's second highest population of foster care after California. A recent survey found that parental drug and alcohol abuse was involved in more than 60 percent of the foster placements (Hemphill, 1990a; 1990b). Illustrating the devastating effects of maternal drug use, Jim Purcell, Associate Commissioner of Social Services in New York City, reported 3,000 infants in 1989 who entered foster care directly from hospitals. Among foster care placements for older children, the cause is parental drug and alcohol abuse in up to 90 percent of the cases according to estimates. This means that nearly every child in foster care has experienced abuse which, according to experts, breeds children who are angry and disruptive, tend to distrust adults, excessively crave attention, and are consumed with feelings of unworthiness, as they blame themselves for their parents' abandonment (Howard, Beckwith, Rodning, & Kropenske, 1989). Indeed, parental substance abuse is provoking growing support for the idea of bringing back the orphanages of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

states that not only is crack creating orphans, but it is creating the need for orphanages, similarly to the way that epidemics of the past once did (Hemphill, 1990a; 1990b).

*Substance Abuse Prevention Programs and Funding.*

Incremental plans, such as those presented by New York City's Deputy Chancellor of Schools for Operations, Stanley S. Lithow, to seek revamp existing programs. But revamping programs that are not tailored to meet the needs of drug-exposed children (French, 1989) will not overcome the system-wide attack on the quality of children's lives in New York City. Indeed, substance abuse programs in the city do not seem to have reached beyond instructional explanations of drugs and what they can do to the body of their users. Total allocations for substance abuse programs, which are geared toward virtually all city students, are increasing by 22 percent per year (see Table 9). In fiscal year 1991, however, this only amounted to \$43 per pupil served—hardly enough to provide the kind of detailed diagnostic and counseling services required by fetally-exposed substance abuse victims, let alone those teens who themselves have substance abuse problems. Available city programs, even when run by dedicated and determined staff and administrators, are largely inadequate. Drug-exposed children are creating a financial burden on the educational system, the degree to which we have never before seen. One Florida official stated that getting crack babies ready for school could cost \$40,000 per child annually (Florida Office of Education, 1989). In Los Angeles, medical cost for drug-exposed babies in 1988 alone was nearly \$81 million. By comparison, substance abuse allocation for students in New York City for 1991 was only around \$39 million. Reflecting on these costs, then U.S. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bensten estimated that the cost to prepare drug-exposed children to start kindergarten will soon reach \$15 billion per year for all levels of government (National Council of Disability, 1990).

## CONCLUSIONS

In this analysis we have attempted to illustrate the extent to which the quality of life for urban children has declined in recent years. By using public data we have arrived at several conclusions about New York City's ability to meet the educational needs of its children by the year 2000 that we hope will elicit more discussion and detailed analysis.



Below we briefly recap our major findings and some of their implications for public policy.

Trend discrepancies in the number rates of "at-risk" students and the funding allocated for service indicate that the New York City school system will not be able to provide at-risk students with support services needed to sustain learning for the foreseeable future. By the year 2000, New York City will be spending \$1,143 *less* per pupil in real dollars than the average of the remainder of New York State. Clearly, this discrepancy indicates that the current funding structure is not sufficient. Local tax effort as well as state and federal disbursements must be increased to maintain adequate support services for the high percentage of the state's at-risk school children residing in New York City.

The percentage of New York City school children who are poor or of minority background is increasing relative to total student growth. As we have indicated, funding is not accelerating at the same rate as is the percentage of children in need of extra programmatic assistance. This will lead to per-pupil decreases in programs targeted to these children. Extra resources are needed, not only in monetary terms but in the form of extra, specially-trained teachers and support service personnel. More bilingual teachers and social service workers must be adequately trained and employed.

An additional problem confronting the New York City public schools is reflected in the social welfare index for children, which continues to decline; children are currently about 42 percent worse off than they were in 1974, and their welfare is likely to be even worse by the year 2000. Unemployment, poverty, and child abuse are reaching epidemic proportions in New York City. Social diseases like AIDS, whose rapid growth are associated with poverty, are increasing. With the continuing deterioration of the surrounding society, the school can no longer function successfully in isolation. Instead, the educational system must integrate itself with social service efforts currently available in the city to more effectively and efficiently provide for children's noneducational needs.

If current trends continue, it is likely that the year 2000 will hold even less opportunity for urban children to succeed than is offered at present. As a society we must become determined and committed to care for our children. No longer can the school system take sole responsibility for failure to provide resources and opportunities for those children whom our institutions have labeled as at-risk. A unified effort involving government, educators, and communities must ensue in order to overcome the increasing obstacles facing a growing percentage of

America's twenty-first century school children.

While an elaborate set of recommendations is beyond the scope of this report, we feel obligated to illustrate, with two brief examples, strategies that are working to improve the delivery of support services to at-risk children.

**1. Preventing Learning Disorders from Drug Abuse during Pregnancy.** Maslan found in a study for Kaiser Permanente in Oakland, California, that pregnant patients at risk for substance abuse can be identified early in prenatal care, that they will participate in a program of recovery in the obstetrics clinic, and finally, that such a program in an obstetrics clinic setting will not only prevent the usual poor birth outcomes but also will lead to significant savings in hospitalization costs (M. Maslan, personal correspondence, 1993).

**2. Alternative School Models.** While a number of models exist, the most famous and tested model has been developed by Dr. James Comer and associates at Yale University. Comer, as a psychiatrist, was particularly concerned to find strategies that bolstered the underdeveloped social and psychological needs of children as a necessary precondition for academic success. He soon realized that the current model of schooling presented three obstacles. First, the hierarchical structure of management made it impossible for the school to respond to children's needs. Second, the world of inner-city children was fundamentally alienated from the world of school. Third, teachers were not trained to understand the cultural handicaps that children brought to school. His first step was to decentralize management and involve the entire community in the running of schools. The second step was to bring parents actively into the life of the school through social events, as tutors and as classroom volunteers. The final step was to establish a mental health team including guidance counselors, school psychologists, special education teachers, nurses, and classroom teachers who advocate for the developmental needs of individual children. There are now more than a hundred Comer schools around the country, each run by a governing council of teachers, counselors, and parents, headed by a principal (Fiske, 1991).

As these examples illustrate, alternatives exist that can make a difference at the institutional level. It would be naive, however, to assume that the kind of structural reform required to make a substantial difference in the quality of life of school children in New York City can be accomplished at current levels of funding and with the current highly inefficient system that characterizes New York's centralized school system.

Plaut and Kelly (1989) at the New York Interface

Development Project described services for children in New York City as a patchwork quilt with more holes than patches. If we were waging a war on behalf of children in the 1980s, we lost many battles; if the decade of the 1990s concludes as it has begun, we will have lost the war. We do not believe that this condition is inevitable. New York City can choose an alternative future for its children, but genuine and constructive change will require moving beyond the incrementalism of the 1990s.

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**THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING:  
DESIGNING COMMUNITIES OF SUPPORT**

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## **SOCIAL CAPITAL, COMMUNITY COLLABORATION, AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF SCHOOLS<sup>1</sup>**

**Calvin Stone and Gary Wehlage**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In previous generations, when a different economy relied on muscle power for much of its productivity, low academic achievement and failure to graduate from high school were not necessarily serious problems for either individuals or society. However, these outcomes now are seen as creating problems for society as well as major handicaps for individuals, because it is assumed the results will be low economic productivity, frequent unemployment, increased social costs to

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communities, and the perpetuation of unstable family conditions that limit opportunities for future generations. Since the mid-1980s, a major effort has gone into dropout prevention by public schools, and more recently attention has turned to a much larger group— the non-college bound student (William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, 1988). Educators are now being told that in the interest of national welfare they must strive for *excellence and equity* for all students. It is an increasingly held belief that schools can no longer function as a sorting mechanism to select winners bound for college and track the losers into a second-class form of education (Committee for Economic Development, 1985, 1987). A national policy discussion is now underway over how schools can provide a high quality education for those not bound for a traditional four-year university degree but who will nevertheless comprise the basic work force in an age of high technology. The issue of how to provide *all* students with a high quality education is driving at least part of the school reform movement in this country.

Given the challenges of reducing the number of dropouts and ensuring excellence and equity of educational outcomes among all students, attention must be given to strategies for students who do not reach high levels of traditional academic achievement. This problem is general in that it needs to be addressed by all schools in all communities, but it is especially crucial with respect to preparing poor and minority youth for success in the twenty-first century. Some might construe the problem largely as one of improved curriculum and instruction; i. e., schools should focus on more effective ways of delivering to students the knowledge, skills, and experiences that they will need as workers, parents, and citizens. However, this is a narrow construction of the problem that tends to ignore students' social background and the social context in which schools operate. This paper offers a much broader social and political conception of the problem of school restructuring. We begin to explore a framework for this restructuring by considering how schools might substantially increase their educational potential by utilizing a variety of community resources.

Community resources that have the potential for strengthening schools can be found in various forms. Already, for example, a number of proposals have advocated collaboration between human services and schools in an effort to provide a more systematic response to the problems of poverty, poor housing, and family instability that undermine the ability and willingness of young people to become educated (Levy &

Copple, 1989; Melaville, 1991; Bruner, 1991). Collaboration between schools and the private sector is also widespread (Clark, 1991). Many schools have received assistance through school-business partnerships that provide financial donations, speakers, and opportunities for students and staff to interact with members of the business community. Some communities, such as Boston, have developed a "compact" agreement between the school system, which promises improved student outcomes, and the business sector, which promises high school graduates support for higher education and job opportunities.

In this paper, we present a conception of collaboration that is potentially more powerful than is implied by those mentioned above. We argue that linking schools to human services, while certainly desirable, is insufficient to respond to the problems of disadvantaged youth. The conception of collaboration built around linking schools and health and social services has the weakness of responding primarily to the symptoms of peoples' problems. Further, collaboration built around school-business partnerships tends to be largely symbolic; it offers little or no leverage on the serious problems that today's neediest youth face in acquiring a good education and, eventually, a good job.

We present a broader and theoretically more powerful conception of collaboration that includes parents and the private sector, as well as human services. The purpose of such collaboration is intended to focus on the need to rebuild the social fabric of families, neighborhoods, and communities. We propose that schools use parents, community organizations, social services, and the private sector to strengthen both the schools and the youth and the families they serve. This admittedly complex and ambitious agenda is justified, in our view, because communities, families, and schools have suffered an alarming decline as institutions in recent decades, and a vision that simply prescribes a more coordinated use of human services or a few additional dollars from the private sector is not sufficient. In fact, in an age of a shrinking traditional resources for schools and families, it is incumbent upon policy makers to find fundamentally new strategies for bringing new resources to strengthen these primary institutions.

Below, we explore a conception of collaboration aimed at building "social capital" for youth, their families, and schools. The aim of collaboration is extended beyond the delivery of human services that respond to the symptoms of deeper social ills. We envision a role for the private sector that extends substantially beyond its current symbolic

effort. Our conception of collaboration is intended to build a new moral and political commitment to a "social contract" with youth. This heart of the "social contract" explicitly links school achievement to employment and higher education opportunities. The collaboration required to implement this "social contract" will immerse communities in political struggles as new institutional arrangements are required.

### SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

We use social capital theory as an orienting device to shape our discussion of the kinds of outcomes that school-community collaboration should seek to produce. Social capital theory, developed by James Coleman (1987a; 1987b; 1988), helps to explain how certain characteristics of families and communities relate to student success in school. We extend Coleman's work to show how relationships between the school and parents, human services, community organizations, and the private sector offer opportunities for building social capital for students and for educators. To develop further the implications of social capital theory, we offer concrete examples of how the integration of school and selected community resources has the potential for creating a school that can produce excellence and equity of achievement for all students.

Coleman identifies three kinds of capital that people possess in varying amounts. One is *financial/physical capital*; this refers to money and the productive equipment that money can buy to produce goods and services. A second form is *human*; this is less tangible than the first but refers to skills and knowledge (often acquired through education) that allow people to act in purposeful and productive ways. The third form, *social capital*, refers to the social and organizational relationships among people that facilitate collective action. Social capital is the structure of obligations and expectations that underlie organized, purposeful behavior or action. Social interactions within this structure also create an information flow and maintain norms that help establish a trustworthy, predictable context for organized activity. (Some writers also discuss cultural capital, which Coleman does not. Cultural capital is different from social capital in that it is more class based and refers to family socialization patterns that affect ways of talking, acting, and the interests that families promote; part of these interests tend to promote a readiness to acquire certain human capital skills and knowledge ordinarily taught

in school [Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990]).

Coleman offers several examples of social capital that illustrate how it functions collectively among a group of individuals, especially how it leads to a trustworthy, predictable context for action. One example is the rotating-credit association common in Southeast Asia (Coleman, 1988). These associations are informal groups comprised of friends, relatives, and neighbors who meet regularly to contribute to and draw upon a central fund of money. The fund is created by a contribution from each member who then has a turn at using the money. The relationship among the members of the association is built on the obligation to contribute and the expectation that one's turn will come, but ultimately it rests on trust that no one will abscond with the money. Coleman (1988) observes, "one could not imagine a rotating-credit association operating successfully in urban areas marked by a high degree of social disorganization—or, in other words, by a lack of social capital.

This example is particularly instructive because it illustrates some of the differences among financial, human, and social capital. The rotating credit association generates financial capital which in turn is used by members whose human capital (skills and knowledge) permits them to go into the business of producing goods or services. Without the social capital of the credit association, however, these other forms of capital could not be organized and acted upon. It is the network of people who have organized a set of relationships based on norms, obligations, and information flow that activates the system of rotating credit.

While it is clear that many urban areas have a much reduced stock of social capital, some forms of it are present. For example, gangs have developed strong social capital within their organizations. Jankowski (1991), based on years of participant observation, describes in detail how gangs organize themselves to carry out their activities, such as self-defense and selling drugs. Gangs have developed what Jankowski calls "social codes" in order to maintain group control. He found that gangs also employ an "ideology" to provide members with a picture of the world that explains how society functions and creates a set of moral principles to solidify the group. Gangs had rules and expectations about members' behavior toward each other, toward other gangs, and in relation to the larger community. The social capital of gangs has allowed them to organize for illicit ends in much the same way as legitimate groups function in society.

Social capital functions within families as well as groups.

Families have more or less social capital; i. e., social relations among members that communicate expectations, norms, and sanctions. Social capital is developed through these social relationships between parents and children. When a network of families share a set of expectations, norms, and sanctions, "intergenerational closure" tends to occur, Coleman argues. For example, if parents are friends of the parents of their children's friends, a network of social relations exists in which there is a flow of information, making it more likely that parents and children share expectations and that use of sanctions is consistent. In some cases, whole communities develop closure, thus creating especially strong social capital. In contrast, when a parent does not have close relationships with other parents or community members who share expectations and norms, the openness of the situation leads to uncertainty of expectations for behavior.

According to the theory, the development of social capital by children contributes to their acquisition of human capital through formal education. A family may have substantial financial capital and the parents may have considerable human capital as a result of their own formal education and experience. However, according to Coleman (1988), there can be a "lack of social capital in the family if there are not strong relations between children and parents." The lack of strong social relations can result from several circumstances. For example, youth's allegiance to a peer group and its culture can weaken social relations within the family, or, attenuation can result from parents' inability to give time and attention to their children due to work obligations or other sources of stress. Coleman argues that one of the effects on children living in a single-parent home is weakened social capital resulting from reduced interactions with adults. He also argues that the social capital of the community can substitute to some extent for its absence in families: "For example, children from single-parent families are more like their two-parent counterparts in both achievement and in continuation in school when schools are in communities with extensive social capital" (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987).

One response to the current stress on family life should be the creation of mechanisms to help children build social capital. Schools are one obvious institution that can help children do this, but like families, schools and communities must create the conditions that will facilitate the development of social capital. A similar point of view is expressed by Wilensky and Kline (1988) who, after a review of urban school reform



strategies, conclude that the crisis of urban education is found in the demise of community, and "the solution for schools and communities alike lies in renewing the school-community link and creating programs and institutions that address the vital needs of young people and the adults they live with."

Given this analysis of the problem, a central issue is how educational policy and practice can help strengthen social capital that is essential for promoting individual school achievement, family and neighborhood stability, and economic productivity. In the remainder of this paper, we explore how schools can promote the development of social capital by collaborating with individuals and institutions in the community. Collaboration in three ways is suggested: (1) parent participation in their children's education; (2) linking schools with business and industry to provide youth with apprentice-like experiences; and (3) bringing to schools the resources of health, social services, and non-profit community organizations. These three strategies are intended to help strengthen families and schools while establishing a social contract that promotes national economic strength as well as individual economic opportunity and security.

## PARENT PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

"Parent involvement" is widely advocated as a way to strengthen schools and promote academic achievement. However, the term has taken on the character of a slogan that fails to convey the kinds of activities that will lead to desired goals. To provide some content to this idea, we present a conception of parent participation that calls for *functional participation* in school activities and *personal interaction* by parents with their children about schoolwork and education issues. Parent participation is defined in ways consistent with the goal of developing social capital. That such participation and involvement has positive effects on children's achievement is a major theme in recent research (Epstein, 1987). In addition, recent analyses of National Education Longitudinal Study data by Peng, Lee, Wang, and Walberg (1992) found that "child-parent interaction and parent educational expectations are consistently related to resiliency" among academically successful but economically disadvantaged youth. Also using the same data set, Rumberger (1992) states that parents' interactions with their children lends support to

"Coleman's conception of social capital and other work on parenting style." To facilitate the kind of parent participation identified in this research, schools need to be restructured in particular ways to facilitate functional relations between educators, parents, and their children.

### **Barriers to Participation**

For schools to engender functional participation and personal interaction by parents with their children over school matters is obviously a challenging task because of the gulf that now exists between many parents and schools. Evidence of this gulf is presented by Seeley, Niemeyer and Greenspan (1991) who conducted in-depth interviews with 25 inner-city elementary principals about parent involvement. One finding that emerged was that most schools now give only lip-service to parent involvement. The reasons given by principals were several. One problem cited was that family mobility tended to make parent involvement in the school less likely. A second reason was that family instability reduced participation. According to one principal, many children were being raised by parent surrogates, such as grandparents, aunts, godparents, and foster parents. The implication seemed to be that these surrogates were neither as interested in helping their children succeed in school nor as able to work with schools to do so.

A third major reason given by principals was a lack of mutual trust between parents and the school. It was believed that many parents had bad school experiences when they were students and that they still harbored resentment inhibiting their involvement, they were still deeply alienated and understandably avoided contact with the school. It was also indicated that a few angry parents came to school with a confrontational posture; principals spoke about parents who were abusive or even violent and had to be kept out of the building. Some parents were found too willing to come to school; "My first priority was to . . . get the community out of there, and establish strict security procedures for coming into the building. I couldn't have shopping carts and baby carriages—you couldn't walk down the hall. Teachers were constantly interrupted by parents who wanted to speak to them." On the other hand, some principals spoke of a close relationship with parents, but the focus of that relationship was often not on educational matters. One said, "They come to us if they need help concerning food stamps, if their having trouble with their husbands or wives, if their having trouble getting their welfare checks."

How can schools respond to these behaviors, perceptions, and attitudes by both parents and educators that serve as impediments to parent participation? Creating productive functional and interactional parent involvement is fraught with difficulties, but we believe resolving these difficulties is essential if the most disadvantaged portion of our population is to receive a high quality and useful education.

### Strategies for Effective Participation

The School Development Program at Yale University, created by James Comer, offers a concrete example of how parent participation might lead to increased levels of social capital in homes and schools (Comer, 1986). Comer's strategy promotes active participation by parents, not only in school decisions through a governing council, but also by contributing to the routines of the school. For example, some parents contribute to the daily operation of the school as paid workers and many others volunteer their time. Parents also serve as tutors and they help educators involve other parents in adult support groups and workshops. Parents develop workshops for themselves on a variety of topics that include information about academic and social programs of the school and how to help children succeed in school. Other workshops address non-educational topics; for example, one school in Comer's program offered parents a course on cosmetology because that is what the women wanted. Thus, functional parent involvement means that parents participate in many school activities including instruction, classroom assistance, governance, and attending adult education classes.

The conception of parents as a resource who have a functional relationship with the school contributes to the successful operation of the school, and has the potential for building social capital for parents, their children, and educators themselves. When parents perform needed tasks that organize and instruct children or adults, a context exists for the promotion of communication of information, ideas, and norms. While only a handful of parents can be involved in school governance, all can be involved in workshops that allow them to learn about topics of personal interest and to communicate among themselves and with educators about educating their children. Such workshops also provide an opportunity for the school to inform parents about school goals and suggest ways to align family and school expectations, and for parents to inform the school about their views. Initiating such workshops might best begin by responding to the personal needs of parents, such as those

alluded to by the principal quoted earlier who said that requests came for help regarding marital problems, food stamps, and welfare checks. Another opportunity is to offer English instruction for those wanting it. The Comer model is an example of school restructuring that can promote two-way communication. Parents are expected to not only receive the school's message but also to offer ideas about how school policies and practices can be improved. By making the communication a two-way exchange, the relationship between parents and educators becomes authentic.

A principal in Prince Georges County, where the Yale model has been replicated, said that she committed herself to "listen, listen, listen" to parents as the first step in making the school responsive to them. Successful examples of the Yale model appear to have overcome what Comer has termed the "misalignment" between the school and home by educating parents about the requirements their children must meet for school success and by informing the school about the needs and interests of families. Comer stated that this model ". . . restores trust, mutual respect and agreement. . . . It uses parents as their strengths permit and develops in them a sense of ownership for the school and responsibility for its outcomes" (Comer, 1986). When this occurs, social capital is likely to accrue and will empower parents and educators alike.

Unfortunately most schools are neither committed to nor prepared to establish functional relations with parents. Most educators do not have the skills and knowledge necessary to act on the premise that parents can be collaborators in the educational process. In this sense, schools themselves lack the social capital (i.e., information channels, knowledge, norms and sanctions) that is essential if they are to successfully involve parents. By restructuring schools in ways that establish a functional relationship between educators and parents, an interdependence can be developed that builds the necessary social capital for both groups.

While developing social capital empowers parents, students and educators, ideally the effects extend beyond these groups. When parents communicate with the parents of their children's friends—when parents get to know one another—then the adults in a community can come to an understanding about the kinds of behavior by their children that are to be encouraged and sanctioned. For this to occur, consensus on shared norms of behavior must be established for all parties—teachers, parents and students. Shared norms will guide parents and teachers in understanding and supporting each other in the different but overlapping worlds of home

and school. For example, what behaviors do teachers expect regarding parents' helping their children at home with schoolwork? What does it mean for students to work hard on academics? What expectations about homework do parents and teachers have? And how are teachers expected to respond to the cultural characteristics of the children they teach? When teachers, parents, and students communicate sufficiently to reach an understanding, then what Coleman calls "intergenerational closure" is established. The effect of parent participation in creating intergenerational closure is described by Coleman and Hoffer (1987) in their claim that Catholic schools are more effective than public schools with students considered at risk of failure and dropping out. Their explanation for this hinges on the presence of social capital among Catholic families that originates from a shared belief system and that is strengthened by a network of communication and intergenerational closure around norms and expectations that function to promote educational values and higher school performance. Catholic school children are less likely to drop out of school because they are supported by a broadly shared set of norms and expectations that promote staying in.

In its most complete form of development, a "community of understanding" includes norms that permit and encourage any adult to help monitor the behavior of any of the community's children. As the natural location for maintaining this consensus, schools promote an alignment of norms and school achievement. In this context, school personnel will have become trusted members of the adult network empowered by the community to further promote intergenerational closure. Through this process parents, teachers, and students collectively generate the social capital necessary for successful schools and for the development of functional adults.

It is assumed that the development of social capital can occur within any community to facilitate support and encouragement for children to conduct themselves in ways that produce school achievement. For example, when parents are a resource with a functional role in the school these are likely results: (a) information flow occurs both ways between parents and schools; (b) this information contains norms and expectations for parent, student, and teacher behavior; and (c) organizational skills are developed to create a more trustworthy context for action. In general, functional participation by parents in school life, particularly in the elementary and middle schools, is likely to build the social capital that both they and schools need to successfully educate

young people.

### SCHOOL-BUSINESS SECTOR COLLABORATION

Throughout the 1980s a number of reports, including some sponsored by business and industry, expressed concern about the future of America's work force (National Center on Education and the Economy, 1990). In general, the reports note that our future work force will be smaller due to a lower U.S. birthrate; that because the birthrate was especially low among White middle-income Americans, business and industry in the future will have to hire more workers from low-income and minority backgrounds. Because poor and minority youth have characteristically not been as educationally successful as middle-income Whites, business forecasters are predicting that the qualified segment of the work force destined for jobs not requiring a college education will be in short supply, and that employers will be pressured to hire young people who appear to be less competent in the workplace.

#### **Employment Opportunities: Perceptions and Reality**

The implications of this scenario are usually based on a number of assumptions as well as on the predicted trends. It is often assumed that a direct relationship exists between educational outcomes and economic productivity. It is further assumed that this nation's poor showing on achievement tests, relative to other advanced nations, and an apparent inability of schools and families to adequately socialize youth to workplace norms, are now causing and will increasingly cause productivity problems for American industry. This analysis tends to hold schools primarily responsible for creating the problem, and it identifies reform of public education as the solution. Within this perspective, business and industry are tightly dependent on the ability of public education to create a high quality work force.

There is, however, another perspective that presents a more complex ecological analysis of the relationship between schooling and employment. This perspective emphasizes interdependency in that it takes into consideration the impact that business and employment practices have on education as well as the effect of education on the business world. It considers the effect that students' perceptions about prospects for future employment opportunities have on their motivation for school



achievement. For example, Bishop (1987) argues that the lack of incentives for academic achievement has undermined effort among non-college bound students. Those destined for college have an incentive to work hard in school, but not the non-college bound group. Bishop points out that employers do not use grades or other evidence of academic knowledge, skill, or competence to make hiring decisions. Generally, employers do not inspect transcripts for either courses taken or grades earned, and while many employers insist on a diploma for employment, other academic records are ignored. The result, claims Bishop, is the lack of any need for students not bound for college to achieve, even though a person's knowledge of mathematics, science and communication skills can be related to their eventual productivity on the job.

While Bishop's argument applies broadly to non-college bound students, John Ogbu (1974) studied a working-class and predominantly minority community in an effort to explain why some minority children were not motivated to achieve in school. He found that children had adopted a pessimistic view of future opportunities based on the employment prospects observed in their community. According to Ogbu, minority youth perceived that a "job ceiling" existed for individuals within their status group. Given dismal prospects for a future career and concluding that school achievement would probably not enhance these prospects, Ogbu's subjects made a "rational" decision not to put much effort into their schoolwork.

Similarly, Comer (1988) found that alienation in low-income children becomes apparent at about age eight, the age when children become capable of understanding that their families differ from others in terms of income, education, and lifestyle. This is also the age when the gap in school achievement begins to accelerate as economically disadvantaged children perceive that success is unattainable and begin to withdraw from serious engagement, protecting themselves from failure by deciding that school is unimportant. Schorr (1988) also observed that in third or fourth grade disadvantaged students begin to lose ground academically because "... at this point the awareness of discrepant values between school and home increases and the gulf widens between skills acquired at home and skills needed for school success." These writers share the perspective that school achievement is nested in, and dependent on, other contexts—family, community, and employment.

The relation of school achievement to employment defines one set of youth issues, but structural barriers also impede American youth in



making the transition from school to work. Among western industrialized countries, the U.S. has developed a comparatively poor system for the transition to work for students who do not use college as the bridge to employment. For many youth in the inner cities, unemployment is the norm. Those lucky enough to join the work force just after high school, regardless of whether or not they achieved a diploma, are typically faced with a five or six year period of work in the secondary job market. During this period, their earnings usually will not support a family, the training that they receive is not significant in providing a base of technical skill, and the job that they hold has little career potential. Rather, these jobs fill the interim years between high school and the age (23 or 24 years old) when many of these young adults will be seriously considered for a job in the primary labor market. In the interim, many youth have only the opportunity to age rather than the opportunity to develop skills and have experiences that will contribute to the chances of a better job in the future.

Opportunities for education and training at America's colleges and universities are currently accessible to approximately half the nation's youth, but only about one-third of American young people eventually become college graduates. Youth who partake of higher education are heavily subsidized by a combination of state and federal expenditures. However, Hamilton (1990) estimates that the public subsidy to non-college youth in this country is about one-seventh the amount available to college attenders. In contrast to other western industrialized countries such as Germany and Sweden, American public investment in employment and training for youth who do not attend college is relatively low.

### **Apprenticeships**

One strategy for addressing the problem of providing high quality training and education for the non-college bound is some variation of the European apprenticeship (William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future, 1992). Often the apprenticeship is advocated by those whose primary intent is to make the work force more competitive, and this is a legitimate purpose. In addition, however, Hamilton (1990) has argued that the German apprenticeship system of education simultaneously addresses important psychosocial development needs of youth, provides an engaging education that results in students obtaining in-depth knowledge and skill as well as satisfying society's

need to be highly competitive economically.

Hamilton studied West Germany's apprenticeship system where half of that country's 15 to 18 year old youth were involved in apprenticeships in the public and private sectors (prior to the reunification of East and West Germany). He identified four key features of apprenticeship education that contribute to these positive outcomes:

- (1) Workplaces and other community settings are exploited as learning environments;
- (2) Work experience is linked to academic learning;
- (3) Youth are simultaneously workers with real responsibilities and learners; and
- (4) Close relationships are fostered between youth and adult mentors.

A fifth key feature of the classic apprenticeship might be added: it provides a context in which youth can develop social capital.

German students typically spend up to four days per week working side-by-side with adults and assume adult responsibilities in the primary sector of the work force. The apprenticeship integrates youth into the mainstream of society where connections are made with adults and institutional practices, thus preventing the isolation of youth by age groups which now occurs too much in this country. By bringing youth into close contact with persons of other generations, natural interaction will occur as people take part in the network of human contacts with its array of roles, obligations, and responsibilities. The apprenticeship system provides young people with opportunities to build social capital that have few parallels in American society.

However attractive the apprenticeship appears, it defies an American assumption: i.e., youth cannot function with maturity until their mid-twenties and consequently the best we can do is to provide them with unskilled secondary economy jobs that serve as an aging vat. While German youth live up to their country's expectations, American youth live down to ours. This country funnels youth into the secondary service economy, such as fast-food chains, where adults are few and youth are numerous, and the norms of the workplace tend to be established by youth. It is unlikely these settings contribute much to the development of social capital, and it is even more unlikely that advanced technical skills and knowledge are learned in these settings.

In Germany, youth involved in an apprenticeship continue with their academic learning. Formal classroom education is provided one or more days per week with students attending classes with fellow apprentices who are engaged in similar occupational training. Many of the classes are therefore oriented around occupational themes and problems that are common to students' experiences in the workplace. With a curriculum focused on occupational clusters, students are educated for a variety of related jobs to avoid narrowly defined job-specific training.

German education of non-college bound youth is part of a system that funnels students into several qualitatively different high schools, some leading to college, some not. It is important to point out, however, that there are new safeguards in this system that minimize the impact of wrong choices for individuals. Recent adaptations make routes available that take students out of the apprenticeship track and into academic colleges that provide professional degrees. Though Hamilton clearly gives high marks to the German apprenticeship system, he believes that the U.S. should establish its own version rather than replicating another country's program. It is important to build on existing programs that have apprentice-like features, such as cooperative programs and community service, that are already accepted and functioning well. Moreover, Americans need to build a system with checks and balances that preserve choices at various points on the educational ladder to avoid harmful tracking. A good apprenticeship program is less likely to result in harmful tracking than the present system in America that leaves about half of the nation's youth adrift in "general" school programs leading neither to work nor college.

### **School Programs and Curricula**

An American version of the apprenticeship has been proposed by the Commission on the Skills of the American Work Force (National Center on Education and the Economy, 1990). The Commission conducted research in the major industrialized countries of the world to compare the various programs of training and education, how the transition from school to work is managed, and the organization of work and its related training prerequisites. Other industrialized countries have created national standards that link schooling and work. In conjunction with such standards, forms of support are made available that do not exist for American youth.

The Commission found in other nations support for youth in

making the transition from school to work that includes: 1) professionalized education through school-work apprenticeships for non-college bound youth; 2) comprehensive labor market systems that combine training, labor market information, job search, and income maintenance during transition periods; 3) company-based training through general revenue or payroll tax financing; and 4) a national consensus on the importance of moving to high productivity forms of work organization and building high wage economies.

A major Commission recommendation toward creating a high quality work force was to establish a national educational performance standard, the "certificate of initial mastery," that certifies attainment of certain uniform standards of achievement. Generally this certificate would be attained at age 16. Upon earning the certificate, students become eligible for a number of options: going to work, entering a college preparatory program, or studying for a technical certificate. The intent of this proposal is that all students should receive the "certificate of initial mastery," though some students would likely attain the certificate later than others. Alternative learning environments funded by each state would be available to students who were not successful in attaining the certificate in traditional school programs.

A national standard, such as the "certificate of initial mastery," can contribute to educational goals of building social and human capital. This implies restructuring curricula and school programs around some set of universal performance standards accepted by the private sector and higher education. If implemented, the reforms will promote the development of social capital by establishing shared expectations, mutual obligations, and better defined (trustworthy) routes to academic success and employment. If such standards are coordinated with an incentive and reward system that leads to high quality apprenticeship-like opportunities for youth, then the standards will have meaning for those youth not bound for college, and will encourage serious engagement in school work.

Therefore, in addition to providing training and building social capital, an important function of the apprenticeship is its symbolic role in establishing a "social contract" that clearly links youth to employment. The "social contract" offers young people an implied promise of reasonably good and secure employment, assuming they meet certain agreed upon standards of achievement and performance. To make the social contract a reality, the private sector must make a commitment to

work with schools in generating genuinely new opportunities for American youth. Ideas such as the "certificate of initial mastery" will not have the desired effect of stimulating school achievement unless they are linked directly to training for career opportunities.

Obviously, collaboration between the schools and the business sector will be critical in creating experiences that youth perceive as opportunities. Because our economy lacks a tradition of cooperation among competing firms and with unions, it is difficult to imagine the implementation of an American apprenticeship unless federal and/or state governments take the lead in brokering the necessary social contract (William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future, 1992).

### SCHOOL-HUMAN SERVICES COLLABORATION

While practitioners and policy makers in the human services recognize that they share common concerns, frequently much of their potential to assist the nation's disadvantaged is lost because of the fragmentation and isolation of the various forms of assistance. This fragmentation exists in spite of our knowledge that "... the needs of children and families (education, health, social, housing family support to name the most obvious) are not isolated but very interconnected" (Earle & Kysilko, 1991). Despite this awareness, health, social services, and education agencies each partially addresses similar and related concerns in isolation.

#### Fragmentation of Service Delivery

Fragmentation is an unintended outcome of the professional specialization and categorical legislation that characterizes social service, education, and health providers. To cite a common example, a school nurse collects information about inoculation for measles but cannot provide the necessary immunization. Instead she must refer a student to the city health department where another nurse will provide the service. If, in her contact with the child, the city nurse observes evidence of neglect she makes a referral to a county social worker. If the social worker's investigation reveals a family need for financial support, the case is transferred from the social services division to a case worker in the income maintenance division. In this typical example the work of

professionals is specialized by occupation and by agency. Efficiency is compromised because only part of the necessary services can be provided by each professional, and even if there were no service gaps in the total system, access is so difficult that only the most informed and tenacious clients can be expected to combine the fragments into a useful response to their problems.

Schools also contribute to the fragmentation of services because typically they do not provide help to students in concert with other agencies in the community. Moreover, despite the often heard claim from educators that strong families are needed to prepare children to succeed in school, educators continue to remain isolated from children's families. Rather, schools have an individualistic definition of student problems, and they treat students as defined by categorical symptoms such as low reading scores or retained in grade. School treatments tend to be based on the assumption that the problems behind these symptoms are individual and personal, and never social in origin. Students are seen as having a self-contained internal problem; counseling, remediation, and assigning the student to a special class or program are typical institutional responses. The model implies a strategy of "fixing" the student who is judged internally deficient on some measure, but plans are usually restricted to assistance that is available within the walls of the school and provided by employees of the school district.

Meanwhile, outside the school walls there are a variety of human service agencies and a multitude of community-based non-profit organizations that are responding to the economic and social deterioration of families and communities. But to a large extent the non-school human services function with a restricted mandate to serve only individuals or families that have already crossed a high threshold of long-term neglect, abuse, violence or deprivation—in other words, a crisis. It is the crisis orientation and reactive mode that characterizes much of our conception of intervention by human service agencies. Generally, if no extreme conditions can be documented, then assistance is not available. Where assistance is available it is typically not coordinated with assistance that a student receives through the school.

### **Empowerment through Service Integration**

A plethora of proposals for collaboration between schools and human services have been offered in response to a verdict that the current system suffers "failure by fragmentation" (Gardner, 1990; Ascher, 1990).



The main purpose of most of these proposals is to increase efficiency and effectiveness of services; i. e. , collaboration intends to promote the integration and coordination of programs into a comprehensive system that can provide a holistic and systematic approach to helping children and families (Melaville, 1991). However, given the nature of the problems facing disadvantaged crisis-ridden families, collaboration can not be confined to only increasing the efficiency and the coordination of existing services to individuals. We believe that in some communities the situation is ripe for reconceptualizing the role of social services to build long-term preventive strategies that will help communities become functional.

Where disadvantaged people are concentrated, the problem can be seen not as the treatment of individuals but rather that of community-building (Wilensky & Kline, 1988). Educationally, this also suggests a different agenda for addressing the social and family causes of school failure and under-achievement. The issue becomes one of using schools, health, social services, and other local organizations to empower families to respond to the common problems of their neighborhoods and communities. This approach implies that social services treat people less as clients in need of direct services and more as people with resources who can respond to the human problems created by deteriorated neighborhoods. The goal of collaboration for human services is to work with other institutions to help rebuild the social and economic infrastructure of communities.

Responding effectively to many of the problems of contemporary urban life requires that collaboration go beyond attempts to improve the efficiency of the system as it is currently organized. First, collaboration is an opportunity to reallocate some human service resources that are now crisis driven and not used for purposes of well-planned preventive approaches. Second, the severity of problems in many geographic areas calls for a shift in focus from the individual client to rebuilding of whole communities. Stronger neighborhoods and communities, i.e., people with greater social capital, must address some of the conditions that now create a demand for current forms of social services. The need for this strategy seems apparent in the face of social problems that far outstrip the capacity of conventional human services to respond.

Social disorganization and the destruction of social capital have been described as an "epidemic" in some neighborhoods (Crane, 1991). Symptoms of this disorganization can be measured with a variety of data.



For example, Ricketts and Sawhill (1988), using 1980 census data, identified "underclass" tracts (containing 2500-8000 people) with a high proportion of people in each of four high risk categories: 33 percent high school dropouts, 33 percent welfare recipients, 50 percent female heads of households, and 50 percent unemployed males. This concentration of risk factors existed in 880 U.S. census tracts. These data only begin to describe the social milieu in which school underachievement and dropping out are prominent and teen-age births frequent, while at the same time the adults are bereft of the kind of social and human capital that can lead to success in mainstream society.

Neighborhoods where the economic and cultural bases have deteriorated have also been analyzed by William J. Wilson. He provides a poignant analysis of what this means to the children of such a neighborhood.

. . . in ghetto neighborhoods that have experienced a steady out-migration of middle- and working-class families—communities, in other words, that lack a social buffer—a sudden and/or prolonged increase in joblessness, as existed in the 1970s and first half of the 1980s, creates a ripple effect resulting in an exponential increase in related forms of social dislocation. . . . And as the prospects for employment diminish, other alternatives such as welfare and the underground economy are not only increasingly relied on, they come to be seen as a way of life.

Thus, in such neighborhoods the chances are overwhelming that children will seldom interact on a sustained basis with people who are employed or with families that have a steady breadwinner; the relationship between schooling and post-school employment takes on a different meaning. The development of cognitive, linguistic and other educational and job-related skills necessary for the world of work in the mainstream economy is thereby adversely affected. In such neighborhoods, therefore, teachers become frustrated and do not teach and children do not learn. A vicious cycle is perpetuated through the family, through the community and through the schools (Wilson, 1987).

Schorr (1988) framed the same problem in the following terms:

Although there are still plenty of people in these neighborhoods who work very hard, there is no longer the critical mass of stable, achievement-oriented families that once provided neighborhood cohesion, sanctions against aberrant behavior, and support for churches and other basic community institutions. Missing are essential practical connections to mainstream society, the informal ties to the world of work that provide models of conventional roles and behavior and could alert youngsters to job openings and help them obtain employment. (p. 19-20)

Without using Coleman's terminology, Wilson and Schorr are pointing out that social capital is a missing critical element in those neighborhoods that have spiraled downward. Without the integrating and cohesive influence of social capital, the potential for maintaining a functioning community is lost to normless self-interest and alienation from the mainstream culture. For those who live in such a milieu the social forces are often overwhelming and beyond the control of individuals.

### **Models of Collaboration**

Federal programs and legislation are needed to respond to these conditions, however local initiative will almost certainly determine the ultimate success of interventions on behalf of disadvantaged populations. Schorr described a local initiative begun in Watts after the riots of 1965. A Presidential Commission had identified the lack of accessible health care facilities as an underlying factor. The Martin Luther King General Hospital was founded, and shortly after its opening the staff of the pediatrics department realized that the traditional role of a hospital in the community would not lead to significant improvement of the dismal health conditions of the Watts community. The hospital began to build a full service system, collaborating with community organizations, foundations, and the school district. Collaboration among these organizations initiated a model child care center, a family day care network, a training program for child care workers, a Head Start Program, and the Magnet High School for the Health Professions. The magnet

school serves 180 high school students, most of whom are African American and disadvantaged. In addition to classroom instruction that focuses on the health professions, students work in medical laboratories, and participate in patient care in the hospital, and according to Schorr, many students have a strong collegial relationship with the professional staff at the hospital.

Critical to the conceptualization of this full service care center and school was that "In Watts it didn't seem to make sense to view health and illness simply as biological entities residing in individuals in isolation of their surroundings. . . . Once pediatricians got used to thinking about children's lives beyond the examining table. . . . they are propelled into acquiring and training others in new skills, into setting up and running community programs, and into collaborating with professionals and agencies from outside the health care arena" (Schorr, 1988).

A high school curriculum has been developed that engages students in real problems and issues facing their community, thus allowing students to participate in higher order thinking and the creation of knowledge, and to simultaneously become contributing members of the community. It is this kind of learning and activity with purpose that builds the social and human capital that is necessary to reconstruct local communities. The Magnet High School for the Health Professions has created functional relationships for its students in programs devoted to health care and community service. It is an example of the kind of school program that can help rebuild local communities as well as stimulate the desire for further education and provide avenues toward employment. Communities should think in terms of these comprehensive strategies that combine education, social services and linkages with employment to strengthen the social capital of disadvantaged youth. In the next section, we begin to explore the political-organizational complexities of implementing such strategies.

### **THE POLITICS OF COLLABORATION**

In 1968 the Kerner Commission cautioned that the U.S. was moving toward two separate societies, one consisting of the "haves" the other of the "have-nots." That scenario seems not to have improved much, and it may have even worsened, in the intervening years. An increasing number of the nation's children and youth are growing up without

functional connections to the opportunities that exist in the mainstream society and without ties to institutions or individuals that can provide entry into the mainstream culture. In the final analysis people cannot be given social capital, they must develop it themselves. However, part of the challenge to our society is to create contexts and opportunities for such development to occur. How might the schools, other human service agencies, and businesses proceed to create the contexts and opportunities that will help young people develop social capital needed to succeed in mainstream society?

Throughout this paper we have given some examples of practices that might be harnessed by communities to contribute to the formation of social capital. In this section, we offer a scenario that weaves together some examples from observations and the literature, along with imagined possibilities, to create a composite description of the political process community collaboration will entail.

#### **Collaboration In Dunn's Park: Identifying the Problems**

Dunn's Park is a city typical of many in this country. However, what is not typical is a significant new effort to develop a community-wide collaborative designed to address youth issues. The Dunn's Park Youth Authority draws upon many of the people and institutions of the community to improve opportunities and outcomes for many of its poorest youth. The Youth Authority has gone beyond promoting cooperation among agencies; it is recognized as the community's forum for exploring issues affecting youth, and it is now the official sponsor of a number of new initiatives addressing school reform, health services, and innovative apprentice-like programs. Local public and private organizations now look to the Youth Authority as the institution capable of conceptualizing, funding, and implementing new policies and programs. The Youth Authority has succeeded in raising money through private and public grants, and increasingly member organizations have been persuaded to reallocate some of their existing funds to develop a coordinated attack on the problems of the most needy youth in the community. How did the Youth Authority come about and what are its strategies?

The Youth Authority had its origins five years ago when a number of concerned citizens met to discuss what might be done to assist youth who were having great difficulty in making the transition to productive adult roles. Some of the symptoms noted during early

meetings were high rates of dropping out, juvenile crime, teen pregnancy, and young adult unemployment. Expressing concern and interest in possible community responses to these problems were the mayor, several city council members, the director of county human services, the superintendent of schools, the juvenile judge, and local religious and business leaders. From the beginning there was agreement that the symptoms were unacceptable and they all shared responsibility for initiating new policy that would address the needs and interests of Dunn's Park youth. They also agreed that there was an absence of coordinated youth policy for the community. While many organizations in the community were trying to respond to youth in various ways, there were gaps in programs and services, as well as duplications. It was also suggested that organizations too often competed with each other for limited categorical funding rather than working together on common problems.

### **Developing the Program**

Early in the collaborative's discussions it was discovered that reliable information on the conditions of youth in the community was lacking. It was not clear, for instance, how many young adults were unemployed in the city, although many agreed it was a problem. Nor was it clear how many students were dropping out of school. The state used one system for determining the dropout rate while the district's calculations were based on a different formula. Moreover, some suspected that neither provided a complete picture of the dropout problem in the community. Also, collaborative members were frustrated in their attempts to learn how many youth who were living in poverty and without health services. In part, the problem was due to the fragmentation of data collection and to the fact that the school district served the city of Dunn's Park while the health department was a county agency. No one could determine, for example, whether teen mothers counted by the county health department were dropouts or still in school where health services might be obtained.

During the first year, three key decisions were made by the collaborative. First, the members determined that the Youth Authority needed legal standing if it were to raise and spend money and implement policy affecting other organizations. The Youth Authority immediately moved to incorporate under state law as a non-profit organization. Second, the Authority decided that an initial base of funding was

necessary in order to establish an operational organization. Using staff on loan from the city and school district, the Authority successfully wrote a proposal that was given multi-year funding by a foundation on condition that the Authority match the grant with local money. This was accomplished when several businesses made outright contributions and a number of agencies agreed to the reallocation of existing funds for use by the Youth Authority. The city, for example, decided to eliminate its own summer jobs program for youth and reallocated the money to the Authority for a fledgling apprenticeship program offered by one of the high schools.

Given legal and financial standing, a third decision was made. The collaborative hired an executive director and several staff to provide the Authority with information and to help define youth issues. The first task for the staff was to assess the adequacy of existing databases maintained by several agencies. It quickly became clear that the Youth Authority needed to create a single comprehensive management information system that could provide data for policy analysis and program development.

While members of the Youth Authority believed they had become much better informed about the problems of youth in the community, they were concerned that public awareness of the issues was lacking. To begin building a base of information and awareness, the staff held a series of hearings in the community about the conditions and needs of youth. Testimony was invited from groups and individuals with expertise. In addition to these formal hearings, a series of "speak out" meetings were held in neighborhood schools. Parents and youth were encouraged to "speak out" as a way of communicating their perspective on important issues to the collaborative and the community. Representatives from the schools, city recreation department, police, health, welfare agencies and, of course, the press were all in attendance. Emphasis was placed on listening carefully to the parents and young people who attended these meetings, and subsequently seeking their help and advice about how to build a broader base of support for initiatives the Authority was considering. Whatever apathy about involvement in schools that may have existed among Dunn's Park parents was overcome when it became clear that a school restructuring process had been introduced that encouraged parents to play an authentic role in their schools. Some five years later, there are parent volunteers serving in all of the classrooms in each of Dunn Park's elementary schools. These schools, following a plan of



decentralized authority and site-based management, are each governed by a council that includes elected parent representatives. Several evenings each week and on weekends the school buildings are used by parents and other adults from the community for adult education, community meetings and recreational activities.

Some of the meetings that take place in the schools are joint efforts of parents and school staff. For example, a group of parents and teachers met to determine if there were strategies that the parents could use at home to help the children to be more successful in the school. In one school, a reading teacher presented classes for parents that included discussions and demonstrations designed to teach parents how to be teachers of their children. This resulted in a commitment by many parents to spend at least 40 minutes each evening working with their children on reading.

Another example of parent-educator cooperation occurred when the Pastor of an African American church agreed to teach a class at a school with a predominantly White teaching staff about the problems faced by minority children in the school and in the community. The class led to a concerted effort on the part of educators, parents, and the Pastor's church to address the school's most needy families that resulted in the establishment of a satellite county social service office at several of the elementary schools. There, the school district and county social workers share space and have the common mandate to be family advocates in providing preventive, as well as, crisis oriented services. One innovative aspect of this collaborative effort has been "one stop" client service: i.e., health care, housing, help with heating bills, and eligibility for all county programs can be arranged at a single location.

Private activities in several neighborhoods indicate that communication among families is increasing. For example, a group of fathers with middle school aged children arranged a bus trip to a nearby city to see a major league baseball game. Parents at one of the elementary schools persuaded a local nursery to donate shrubs and grass seed, and on Arbor Day many students and their parents were involved in planting and a clean-up effort that transformed the outside appearance of the school.

While much attention has been focused on younger children, the community of Dunn's Park expressed concern about the number of students who dropped out of high school without the skills and work habits necessary to obtain anything but secondary economy jobs. Crime by juveniles had been steadily increasing in the city. In response, the



schools, county human services, several community-based organizations, and the juvenile court collaborated in the development of an innovative secondary school that is helping to retain potential dropouts. About 20 percent of the student body is enrolled through court referral in an effort to provide a local program for some juvenile offenders who otherwise would have been sent to the state reformatory. Each of these students has a case manager who coordinates social services for the youth and arranges for a mentor. Because each youth sent to the reformatory costs the community \$35,000 per year, this collaborative strategy has resulted in savings that can be applied to other needs.

Another major effort is underway at one of the Dunn's Park high schools where educators are working with community business leaders to develop training programs to respond to the high rate of unemployment and to the need of businesses for a well-trained work force. Believing that student achievement is affected by student perceptions about future opportunities, Dunn's Park employers have offered a guarantee that they will provide jobs with career potential to every qualified graduate of the high school. This promise is made in a personal appearance in every sixth grade class by representatives of the Chamber of Commerce. And, the promise is followed by long-term business involvement with individual students in a mentoring and try-out employment program. In addition, the business leaders have pledged dollars to provide college tuition for students who cannot afford college and who will agree to return to Dunn's Park to work for at least two years after graduating.

### **Promoting Changes at the Federal and State Levels**

Dunn's Park businesses have also renewed efforts to provide training for high school students by expanding opportunities in cooperative education programs that combine classroom and on the job training that is provided by employers. An effort is underway to expand the scope of on-the-job training to make it more like the European apprenticeships. One problem, however, with moving to an apprenticeship program is that no state or national credentialing exists to allow such training to be fully recognized for high school graduation or as preparation for post-secondary education. Some federal and state authority seems necessary to establish a mechanism in the private sector to create apprenticeship-like opportunities. National organizations like the Council of Chief State School Officers are in a position to broker broad business support for such sweeping change in education and business. Since

financing and accrediting education in this country is largely a state function, action at that level is essential to legitimate new forms of schooling. Programs involving apprenticeships and student assessment built around performance and mastery require the sanction of the state to become legitimate.

Today, the Youth Authority in Dunn's Park is focused on creating a community in which all young people have reasonable prospects of growing up healthy, educated, and with reasonable prospects for obtaining a good job. Our account of Dunn's Park only hints at the potential of a community collaborative, as well as the difficult political process that is required to implement strategies that can help strengthen individuals, families, and the whole community. The Dunn's Park Youth Authority has discovered that reform and restructuring of education and other human services is a massive problem that will require federal and state action along with local initiative.

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## **THE COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION IN AN URBAN EDUCATION SETTING: IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

**Bruce Anthony Jones**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Increasingly, community-based organizations are being used to form partnerships with schools in order to meet the goals of education. Community-based organizations have had a traditional role in working with community housing, employment, and social service needs, but the increase in activity between them and schools is relatively new. This increase is directly related to the overall nationwide growth of partnerships between schools and other institutions in the community,<sup>1</sup> the result of a growing belief that only through such partnership efforts can the many needs of students and school communities be addressed.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the U.S. Department of Education (1989), over 140,000 school-community partnerships have formed nationwide. This figure represents a 60 percent increase in partnership activity since 1983.

The recent events in Los Angeles have intensified calls for partnerships between community-based organizations and institutions that make up the rest of the community. In reaction to the events in Los Angeles, the Council for Community-Based Development (1992) issued the following statement to policy makers and government leaders throughout the nation:

...the immediate need is to persuade this and succeeding (government) administrations to embrace the idea of working with community-based organizations and local intermediaries.

A variety of factors have resulted in the implicit redefinition of the term "community-based organization" in recent years. Because of this redefinition, the term has been used loosely in policy circles. Therefore, as a practical matter, the term may lead to diminution of the needs of local urban schools and communities unless policy makers acknowledge this redefinition and its implications when making decisions on how to allocate resources.

At one time, the term "community-based organization" referred to institutions that had some type of substantive neighborhood affiliation. Typically, the community-based organization was comprised of staff from the community and had a long history of providing one or more particular services to the community. Today, however, a huge university can refer to itself as a community-based organization. What has evolved (particularly since the 1960s) has been the development of a "range" of community-based organizations with different sizes, purposes, and scopes of influence. On one end of this range is the traditional "grassroots" community-based organization. On the other end is the large "corporate-type" community-based organization.

The problem does not lie with the redefinition and evolution of the community-based organization in and of itself. The problem lies with decision-making by educators, policy makers, and public and private funding groups that have not acknowledged this redefinition and evolution and how it may affect an urban school-community program effort. It is almost as if policy makers have accepted that all organizations with a "501(c)3 tax status" are the same in their potential "school-community effect" because, after all, they are "community-based organizations."



The research here reveals the importance of making distinctions between the different types of existing community-based organizations when making decisions about resource allocations to school-community initiatives. The "school-community effect" of these initiatives is influenced by these distinctions. In this regard, the challenge for policy-makers is not to exclude certain types of community-based organizations from a particular education initiative, but, rather, to ensure that institutions defining themselves as "community-based organizations" are serving the roles that bring benefits to students, schools, and the community. The large corporate-type community-based organization and the small grassroots community-based organization may both have roles to play in a local urban school initiative. However, institutional differences between these types of organizations must be recognized in order to maximize their potential.

### THE COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION AND SCHOOL RELATIONSHIP

The use of community-based organizations to address issues in education is a fairly recent phenomenon. Traditionally, community-based organizations were more likely to address, youth, employment, and social service concerns of local communities. The focus on these particular concerns has its roots in the early charity, settlement-house and neighborhood center movements in the United States (Jones, 1991, 1992, 1993a).

During the 1960s, according to Upton (1984), Kramer (1976), and Wildavsky (1973), community-based organizations served as the major local community institutions to facilitate the development of federal government sponsored programs. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966 mandated federal and local government officials to work with local community-based organizations in order to implement housing, employment, youth, adult education, and social (health, welfare, and family counseling) service programs.

According to the New York Community Trust (1987), community-based organizations have recently engaged in collaboration with schools in some instances to provide advocacy on specific school reform measures; to help establish parent involvement at the local school site; to provide educational services, such as tutoring or vocational

education to students and adults; and to provide supplemental social services for school-age children and their parents.

With specific regard to the intent of joining community-based organizations with schools under the auspices of the AIDP (Attendance Improvement Dropout Prevention) program, the New York City Board of Education (1986) stated the following:

collaboration of community-based organizations and schools, supported with public education funds, is a new, even radical approach to serving this city's students who are at risk of dropping out. Traditionally, schools and community-based organizations have operated along parallel paths — interacting if at all around individual students rather than around a target population. Bringing together two independent systems to work in an integrated way toward a common goal can be a formidable challenge. Yet the advantage of joining forces to address the seemingly intractable problem of students dropping out has benefitted our young people, the schools and the community organizations that serve them.

### **A STUDY OF ONE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY- BASED ORGANIZATION PARTNERSHIP**

#### **Data Sources**

The data collected for this research on the evolution of community-based organizations are derived from the Teachers College, Institute for Urban and Minority Education, evaluation of the New York City Dropout Prevention Initiative (DPI).<sup>2</sup> The DPI was initiated in 1985 with a \$13 million resource allocation from the New York State Legislature (AIDP funding), the New York City Office of the Mayor, and the New York City Board of Education. Four community-based organizations (CBOs) working with six middle schools are the focus of

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<sup>2</sup> The DPI allowed for the implementation of the AIDP program with community-based organization personnel in some schools instead of Board of Education personnel.

this research.<sup>3</sup> Each CBO-school partnership received approximately \$150,000 to implement the DPI program.

The AIDP program emphasis was on dropout prevention, attendance and course pass rate improvement, and on improving student attitudes toward school. Services targeted to students within the program included guidance and counseling, health services, attendance outreach, and alternative educational activities during and after school. The middle schools in this evaluation established contracts with community-based organizations to help provide these services. No components or services of the DPI program were aimed at affecting the core classroom environment, instruction or school curriculum. Teachers were not required to engage in staff development for the purpose of advancing the goals of the DPI. The DPI did not seek to change the entire school environment, largely because of limited program resources and the requirement that only a limited number of students could register with the initiative.

The New York City Board of Education contracted with the Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Teachers College, to develop a longitudinal evaluation of all facets of the DPI program. The Institute was responsible for determining the effectiveness of the DPI program and providing formative feedback to school administrators and the school board on how the program could be improved.

### Research

Data for this research were collected on the effectiveness of the DPI program in six middle schools. Three of the middle schools established contracts with two community-based organizations that were "indigenous" to the school community. Indigenous community-based organizations are located in the neighborhood and sometimes down the block from the school where they are providing services to students. The indigenous community-based organization is characteristic of the grassroots-type institution. The remaining three middle schools established contracts with two community-based organizations that were "exogenous" to the school community. Exogenous community-based organizations are

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<sup>3</sup> The larger research study sample included an analysis of dropout prevention efforts in four schools that did not contract with a community-based organization (CBO). In these schools, school staff provided services to the targeted DPI students as opposed to CBO staff. The DPI outcomes of this effort (ie., non-CBO model) were compared with DPI outcomes of the CBO models.

located outside of the school neighborhood. For example, the exogenous community-based organization may be geographically located away from the school in another New York City borough. The exogenous community-based organization will tend to resemble a corporate-type institution.

**Data Type and Population Sample.** The study uses the second year (1986-1987) data of the evaluation results of the AIDP initiative. Quantitative data included data collected from a sample of 391 students who were surveyed during the 1986-1987 school year. The student surveys requested information on student home background; student attitudes toward school; student opinion about the DPI service offerings; and student opinion about the school environment and climate. School and community-based organization staff were also surveyed. This survey requested information on school-community-based organization relations; school climate; school-community relations; and staff and student relations. Quantitative data were also collected from the Office of Student Progress at the New York City Board of Education. These records provided statistical data on the numerical levels of AIDP services provided to the students by the schools and community-based organizations, student attendance and course grades.

Qualitative data were collected during structured and open ended interviews with 30 students and 29 school and community-based organization staff. Interview questions focused on an assessment of school-community-based organization relations, staff and student relations, and school-community relations.

**Community Demographics and Institution Sample.** Demographic data collected from the New York City Department of Planning and school demographic data collected from the New York City Board of Education indicate that the middle schools in the sample are housed in predominantly Black and Hispanic communities with annual family income levels between \$10,000-\$14,000. According to the brochures of the community-based organizations, two indigenous community-based organizations provided services which fall in the categories of social service delivery, information gathering on community issues, and dissemination and community advocacy. The two exogenous community-based organizations engaged primarily in social services and information dissemination activities. One of the differences between the two types of community-based organizations is that the former engaged in local community advocacy activities while the latter did not.

**Research Questions**

The "school-community effect" of the indigenous and exogenous community-based organizations was analyzed according to the following questions:

- (1) To what extent do the community-based organizations foster "community" in the school and local setting?
- (2) To what extent are the community-based organizations effective with providing the AIDP services to the targeted middle school students? How did the provision of these services affect student attitudes toward school?
- (3) To what extent are the community-based organizations effective in improving attendance and academic rates in each school.

**Schools and the Sense of Community**

According to Jones (1988, 1993b), "community" includes two essential components: (1) At an individual and personal level, community members must feel a "sense of belonging" to the community. Embodied within this sense of belonging is the belief that community members have some element of political control and influence over the allocation of resources and affairs of the school-community. (2) At an institutional level, communities require a level of "institutional interconnectedness." This notion fits somewhat with Goodlad's (1984) concept of the "educational ecosystem," where all institutions within a community are interdependent with each other. Institutional interconnectedness further holds that institutions are required to be connected to (for example, owned and/or run by) members of the community and must work together in order to transmit to students positive levels of informal and formal education.

Urban localities that do not have this political "sense of belonging" and "institutional interconnectedness" will tend to be politically alienated, disenfranchised, apathetic and potentially volatile.

Schools are not exempt from their role to foster "community." With particular regard to the DPI program, "community" is concerned with the nature of relationships between participants, including teachers, community-based organization staff, and students in the program. "Community" is also concerned with the relationships between the

institutions involved and the AIDP program.

Thus, it is important to evaluate the role of the indigenous and exogenous community-based organizations in fostering participant and institutional relationships and establishing linkages between the school and community service providers, such as, businesses, hospitals, and social service agencies. It is also useful to learn how these linkages were developed to the advantage of the AIDP student population.

#### **AIDP Service Delivery**

Each of the AIDP middle schools was required to maintain records on the levels of AIDP services provided to the AIDP student population. These service components included:

- (1) **Program Facilitation.** This component was designed to ensure that the progress of the program as a whole, as well as that of individual students in the program, was being monitored. Each school had an AIDP program facilitator or coordinator; in most schools, this was a part-time position.
- (2) **Attendance Outreach.** Student attendance was monitored and followed up on through letters, phone contacts, and home visits. Incentives such as prizes, awards, or special activities were provided to encourage attendance improvement.
- (3) **Guidance and Counseling.** Group, individual, and career guidance were provided to students, with the intent of addressing individual problems that may have contributed to poor attendance.
- (4) **Health Services.** This component consisted of diagnostic screening, including physical, psychological, and educational assessment, as well as appropriate referral services when thought necessary.
- (5) **School-Level Linkages.** The goal of this component was to help middle school students make smooth transitions into high school. Activities included visiting high schools and engaging in a variety of activities with high school students and staff.
- (6) **Alternative Educational Programs.** These were to supplement the



regular instructional services provided to the students. These programs included peer-tutoring and other methods of individualized instruction, extra-curricular activities related to career training, recreational or cultural activities designed to encourage better attendance and improve achievement, or special classes.

According to the Teachers College evaluation:

A central goal of the evaluation is to establish the relationship between students' receipt of services (described above) from the AIDP program and the students' attendance, grades, attitudes toward school and self, and, ultimately, the likelihood of their persisting in school or dropping out. The (Central Board of Education) Office of Student Progress created the "Monthly Service Summary of Service Reports" (MSSRs) for the twin purposes of holding (AIDP) staff accountable for services and reviewing the distribution and effects of services to students in need (Grannis et al., 1988, p. 16).

Improved student attendance and academic performance, as well as attitude, were central goals of the DPI program. Several studies have indicated that low student achievement is one of the central reasons cited by students for dropping out of school. Estimates of the dropout rate in New York City range from 45 percent to over 80 percent in some communities.

The following goals were set for the DPI middle schools in 1986-1987, the year of this study:

- (1) A minimum of 50 percent of the students provided with dropout prevention services will have 1986-1987 attendance that is better than in 1985-1986.
- (2) A minimum of 50 percent of the students who failed at least one subject during 1985-1986 will pass at least one more subject in 1986-1987 than they did the previous year (Grannis et al., 1988, p. 25).



### Research Findings

*Indigenous CBO-School Model (ICS) vs. Exogenous CBO-School Model (ECS): their role in fostering "community."* In general, the middle schools that established contracts with the indigenous community-based organizations produced higher levels of "community" associated with the program. The higher levels of community manifested themselves through positive levels of collaboration between the schools and community-based organizations during program implementation. In some instances, the school staff did not trust the staff of the exogenous community-based organization. According to one school staff interviewee, collaboration between the school and the community-based organization may have had less to do with the expertise brought into the school by the community-based organization than with simply "feeling more comfortable with the familiar." In some instances, the indigenous community-based organizations had a prior history of working with the school in some other program capacity.

When AIDP staff were asked, "In your opinion, how well do school and community-based organization staff get along?", differences (although not statistically significant) emerged between the ICS and ECS models. Forty-seven percent of the ICS model staff reported "very well" compared with 15 percent of the ECS model staff. Six percent of the ICS model staff reported "not well" compared with 39 percent of the members of the ECS model staff.

Statistically significant differences did emerge between the ICS and ECS models when staff were asked, "The DPI school and CBO staff collaborate toward making the DPI program run effectively in this school — true or false?" Ninety-four percent of the ICS model respondents indicated "true," compared with 54 percent of the ECS model respondents. Six percent of the ICS model respondents reported "false" compared with 46 percent of the ECS model respondents.

The indigenous community-based organizations had more familiarity with the neighborhood and the services that institutions in the community could bring to bear on the DPI student population. This had a "school-community effect" on the alternative education and health components of the DPI program.

The alternative education component was to include the creation of community internships with hospitals for students; and the creation of

linkages with local business employers to establish jobs, mentorships, recreational and educational trip activities for students. The health component was to link student and family health related needs to the health care facilities in the community.

The indigenous community-based organizations were in a better position to bring local alternative education and health services to bear on students and their families. This may have occurred in the form of local speaker presentations, career and job fairs and health-related assembly programs.

Significant differences in the responses of staff respondents emerged between the ICS and ECS models when asked to rate the quality of linkages between the AIDP program and institutions in the community, such as businesses, churches, hospitals and social service agencies in the community. Eight percent of the ICS model staff reported "excellent" compared with 0 percent of the ECS model staff. Eight percent of the ICS model staff reported that the DPI-community linkages were "poor" compared with 50 percent of the ECS model staff.

Parent involvement with the DPI program was generally poor with both the ICS and ECS models. However, significant differences did emerge with staff respondents between the two models when asked, "How would you rate the quality of parent involvement?" When given the option of determining whether or not the quality of parent involvement was "poor"; "fair"; "good" or "excellent" approximately 75 percent of the ECS model respondents reported "poor" compared with 12 percent of the ICS model respondents. Six percent of the ICS model staff respondents reported "excellent" compared with 0 percent of the ECS model respondents. Most of the ICS model respondents reported "fair" or "good" (44 percent and 38 percent respectively). Most of the ECS model respondents reported "poor" or "fair" (75 percent and 17 percent respectively). See Table 1 for an analysis of outreach services.

**Table 1****Frequency of Outreach Services Delivered to AIDP Students**

| Attendance Outreach Service | Indigenous Model | Exogenous Model |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Home Visits                 | 417              | 250             |
| Parent Contacts             | 413              | 147             |
| Mail and Phone Contacts     | 1,962            | 3,330           |

Source: New York City Board of Education Monthly Summary of Service Reports (1988).

Student responses indicated that schools that formed partnerships with the indigenous community-based organizations were somewhat more likely to provide help to students and their families. Thirteen percent of the students in schools that formed collaboratives with the indigenous community-based organization reported "very much" compared to 6 percent of students in schools that formed collaboratives with the exogenous community-based organization, when asked, "How much of the time does the school help with your family's problems?"

The guidance and counseling component was considered one of the most important components of the AIDP program. The counseling technique of "case management" was employed by the indigenous and exogenous community-based organizations when working with students and their problems.

When the AIDP students were asked, "How much of the time since the beginning of the school year have you talked one-on-one with a teacher, counselor, or other adult in the school about problems you may be having?", more than twice as many student beneficiaries of the ICS model reported "almost every week" compared with the students beneficiaries of the ECS model. Thirty percent of the student beneficiaries of the ICS model reported, "never" compared with 44 percent of the student beneficiaries of the ECS model. The differences between the models were statistically significant.

**Frequency of Services**

Table 1 reveals the frequency of attendance services provided to the AIDP student population. The indigenous community-based organizations were more likely to work with parents of the AIDP students face-to-face compared with the exogenous community-based organizations which had higher levels of mail and phone contact.

Table 2 provides data on counseling, health, and alternative education services provided to the AIDP students. Almost three times as many individual guidance counseling sessions were reported by the ICS model compared to the ECS model.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 2**  
**Frequency of Counseling, Health and  
Alternative Education Activities to AIDP Students**

| Service                 | Indigenous Model | Exogenous Model |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Guidance and Counseling |                  |                 |
| Individual              | 3,790            | 1,210           |
| Group                   | 335              | 1,142           |
| Health                  | 37               | 33              |
| Alternative Education   | 723              | 193             |

Source: New York City Board of Education Service Delivery Logs on AIDP Program (1988).

The differences between the two models in the number of reported health activities are minimal. Alternative education activities

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<sup>4</sup> Caution is warranted in the examination of the individual counseling session data. Schools and community based organizations used different interpretations in determining what constituted an "individual counseling session." In some of the instances contact with students was substantial, in other instances more casual.

occurred at higher levels with student beneficiaries of the ICS model compared with student beneficiaries of the ECS model.

With regard to attitudes toward school, when asked, "How good do you think your school is compared to other schools in the area?" significant differences in responses emerged between student beneficiaries of the ICS and ECS models. Almost three times as many student beneficiaries of the ICS model reported "it's better" compared to student beneficiaries of the ECS model (35 percent and 14 percent respectively). Five percent of the ICS model students reported "it's not as good" compared to 22 percent of the students of the ECS model.

***Attendance, Academic Rates and Student Attitudes toward School.*** Dramatic differences did not emerge in attendance and academic rates between the ICS and ECS models. Overall, according Grannis et al., (1988), attendance performance worsened between 1985-86 and 1986-87 for student DPI middle school enrollees.

According to Table 3, approximately 37 percent of the student beneficiaries of the indigenous model had experienced attendance gains, compared with 35 percent of the student beneficiaries of the exogenous model. Thirty-two percent of the student beneficiaries of the indigenous model had experienced gains in number of courses passed, compared to 41 percent of the student beneficiaries of the exogenous model.

**Table 3**

**Attendance and Academic Gains by AIDP Students**

|            | Indigenous | Exogenous |
|------------|------------|-----------|
| Attendance | 37%        | 35%       |
| Academic   | 32%        | 41%       |

Source: Grannis et al., 1988.

Several factors may have contributed to the lack of substantial student attendance and academic gains. First, as previously indicated, the

DPI (like the AIDP more generally) program did not target services to improve the classroom environment, instruction, or curriculum. In addition, teachers were not engaged in staff development about the goals and purposes of the DPI program. In essence, the DPI program was peripheral to what went on in the classroom. Therefore, community-based organizations had little direct control over academic outcomes from the vital standpoint of classroom influence.

Second, as previously reported, the AIDP program served to benefit a "select" group of students as opposed to all students within a school who may have been in need of the program. Student AIDP enrollees who participated in the program during and after the school day may have had positive experiences. However, because the program did not target the entire school, these same students still had to negotiate negative elements in the context of the larger school environment.

## CONCLUSION

The findings of this research reveal the importance of establishing distinctions between different types of community-based organizations when making policy decisions on methods of providing services to school-communities.

If the goal of an education initiative is to foster the notion of "community" through school-community collaborative approaches, the indigenous community-based organizations have a critical role to play. In this instance, the indigenous community-based organizations were more familiar with the community where the students lived. Therefore, the indigenous CBOs were in a better position to deliver dropout prevention services to the DPI student population. One of the indigenous CBOs had a prior history of working with the school on other initiatives. This prior history worked in favor of building collaborative relationships between the school and the CBO. Each of these factors played an important role in the development of the collaborative process between the schools and community-based organizations.

The academic and attendance outcomes of the AIDP initiative indicate that policy efforts to reduce absenteeism and improve academic rates of students must be comprehensive in approach. In other words, such efforts must target the classroom environment as well as change for the entire school. Initiatives such as the DPI must engage school staff as

well as staff from community-based organizations in on-going staff development about program goals and objectives. Staff development should also allow staff the opportunity to enhance program development. The DPI has the potential to expand to include each of the preceding concerns. In this way, the DPI serves primarily as a "starting-point" for major school reform that is required to help students who are at risk.

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## SCHOOL CHOICE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

Cecilia A. Conrad and Janet Alperstein

### INTRODUCTION

At its core, school choice is a proposal to replace a nonmarket allocation scheme with an allocation mechanism in which some type of market signal (profits, shortages, or surpluses) indicates to producers how much and what kinds of goods to produce. Proponents of school choice envision a competitive market in schooling with few imperfections other than a general tendency to under produce. In their view, the positive externalities associated with an educated populace justify public subsidy, but do not demand direct government provision. Opponents, such as Henry Levin, argue that a market approach could undermine the social

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<sup>1</sup> This essay is dedicated to the memories of Sally Alperstein and Emmett Conrad, two individuals who dedicated their lives to public education. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the National Economic Association Meetings, January 6, 1993 in Anaheim, California. The authors are grateful to Michael Leeds and Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz for their helpful comments and suggestions, and to Alissa Gill for her research assistance.

goals of education—inculcating a common set of values and knowledge among citizens and insuring equal opportunity across groups (Levin, 1989; Cookson, 1992). Opponents fear that school choice will perpetuate racial segregation and a two-tier system of schooling—one for the rich and one for the poor.<sup>2</sup>

A fundamental question in this debate is whether a private market will achieve better outcomes than one in which the government is a direct resource provider. This literature review offers an assessment of both the theoretical arguments and the empirical research on the question. Our primary focus is the effect of school choice on educational achievement. However, a second concern is how effectively school choice meets the social goals of education.

Advocates for school choice typically cite comparisons of academic achievement in public schools and Catholic schools, and in magnet and nonmagnet public schools to support their position. We review this research below. While Catholic schools do appear to be more effective in increasing students' scores on standardized tests in verbal skills and mathematics, there are a number of reasons for caution in drawing conclusions about the functioning of a purely private market from these findings. Non-Catholic private schools appear to do a poorer job of educating children from minority households and from disadvantaged backgrounds than do public schools. Magnet schools cost more and may or may not improve student achievement.

To address the broader question of the efficiency of a private market in schooling, we borrow from the tools of industrial organization. Depending on the specific proposal and on the structure of costs, a private market will most likely be monopolistically competitive or a differentiated oligopoly. Thus, a number of problems commonly associated with these market structures could emerge, including: (1) too many schools; (2) too much duplication of curricula; (3) under service of high value, small group users; and (4) a bias against some groups due to consumer tastes for discrimination or statistical discrimination. These potential costs counterbalance the potential benefits of greater efficiency and of better service to the average student.

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<sup>2</sup> The term "school choice" first appeared shortly after the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregation decision in 1954.

## THE MANY DEFINITIONS OF SCHOOL CHOICE

Advocates of school choice come from both ends of the political spectrum. One explanation for this diverse political support is that each group has a different definition of school choice. In the influential book, *Politics, Markets and America's Schools* (1990), Chubb and Moe, scholars at the somewhat liberal Brookings Institute, advocate a plan in which students would be "free to attend any public school within a state with the relevant scholarship—consisting of federal, state, and local contributions—flowing to the school of choice" (p. 221). Nobel laureate Milton Friedman proposes a choice program which eliminates public schools and substitutes a voucher system (Friedman, 1962). The conservative Heritage Foundation supports vouchers to be used at private schools or at public schools in other districts.

School choice advocates are quick to note that wealthier parents already exercise some choice. Wealthy parents may choose between public and private schools, or between public schools in wealthy suburbs and public schools in urban neighborhoods. These choices are typically not available to lower income families.

### Choice among Public Schools

Historically, school assignments have been based on geographic location or on race. More recently, as part of school desegregation efforts, parents have been able to choose between their zoned public school and a magnet school (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Magnet schools offer special programs, typically organized around a specific theme, educational principle, or academic discipline. They are designed to attract White students to schools where African American or Hispanic students are currently in the majority. Admission to these specialized schools is frequently competitive since there are not enough slots to meet demand. In some cases, admission is based on impersonal criteria like first come, first serve, or a random lottery. In others, students are selected on the basis of personal interviews, scores on standardized tests, or other academic criteria. The idea of magnet schools or alternative schools has been broadened to include educational goals beyond school desegregation, including providing vocational training, reducing dropout rates, etc.

For example, New York City offers a wide variety of alternative schools ranging from the academically elite Stuyvesant, Bronx Science, Brooklyn Technical high schools and Fiorello H. LaGuardia High School

of the Arts, with admissions only by examination, to the vocationally oriented high schools—Fashion Industries, Art and Design, and Aviation. The vocationally oriented magnets select half of their students; the other half is assigned on the basis of the student's preferences, a complicated allocation formula, and a random process. Students who do not get assigned to the alternative school of their choice have the option of remaining at their local district school.

The simplest school choice proposals advocate eliminating geographically delimited attendance areas entirely. Students would then be allowed to attend any public school in their school district. The East Harlem school district of the New York City Board of Education serves as a prototype for this type of school choice plan. There are no districted junior high schools. Each student submits an application listing his or her top six choices among junior high school programs. Students are then allocated on the basis of their choices and a random selection process. This system places approximately 93 percent of the students in their first or second choice (Alperstein, 1992).

The choice program in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is quite similar (Glenn, 1991). Parents rank their top three choices of elementary schools. Student assignment to schools then takes into account racial balance, parent preferences, space availability, proximity to home, and attendance of siblings in the school. If there is excess demand for a school, assignments are based on lotteries.

The choice program in Minnesota eliminates not only geographical districting within school districts, but allows students to attend schools anywhere in the state. Schools can only deny enrollment if there is no space available or if the transfer would upset racial balance. Subsidies are available to make transportation affordable for needy students. Under the Minnesota plan, high school juniors and seniors can attend classes free of charge at the state university. In 1989-90, 3,200 students transferred out of district, less than 0.5 percent of Minnesota's kindergarten through grade twelve population (Larson, 1990). Arkansas, Idaho, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, Utah and Washington also have statewide choice programs.

### **Choice among All Schools**

At the other extreme is full privatization of elementary and secondary education. Federal, state and local governments could subsidize expenditures for schooling by handing parents educational vouchers.

Parents could then choose what school they wish their child to attend. Schools would decide program offerings, tuition, and which students to admit. All schools would then be private. A school that failed to generate enough revenue to cover its costs would either have to change its program or go out of business.

An intermediate step is a choice program which allows parents to choose between public and private schools by granting vouchers to parents toward tuition at any private school or towards tuition at a public school outside the family's district. In Milwaukee, the city pays approximately \$2,500 per pupil to finance private school tuition for low-income parents. The tuition money is taken from public school budgets. The rules require that participating private schools accept students regardless of academic or disciplinary history. In Indiana, the privately funded Golden Rule program grants education vouchers to low-income families. Voucher schemes have been proposed in Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Oregon, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The constitutionality of voucher programs that include parochial schools is a subject of ongoing debate. While the First Amendment of the United States Constitution permits discussions of religious holidays and of the Bible as a literary work in public schools (or in private schools that accept public money), the courts have clearly established that prayers and daily recitations from the Bible have no place in schools that receive public money. This in no way denies the right of parents to send their children to private schools of any type (*Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*, 1925). However, attendance at a parochial school does not entitle students or their parents to tuition reimbursements (*Lemon v. Sloan*, 1972.). Tax deductions for tuition are allowable provided that tuition is but one of many deductions available to parents of school-aged children, such as textbooks, materials, and transportation (*Mueller v. Allen*). Furthermore, the required separation of church and state does not prohibit federal funding of noncurricular matters, such as busing (*Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing Township*, 1947) or free and reduced meals (National School Lunch Act of 1946), or the federal funding of some curricular-related matters (*Board of Education of the City of New York v. Allen*, 1959).

Advocates of school choice plans which include parochial schools point to the G.I. Bill as an example of federal funds supporting nonsecular educational institutions. Opponents argue that while the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, or the G.I. Bill, permits the use



of public funds for undergraduate and graduate studies at any type of institution of higher education, the age and maturity level of college students is starkly different than that of elementary school students. Two recent developments serve to undermine the age and maturity argument, however. The first is the recent passage by Congress of the Equal Access Act that states that public high schools which accept federal money and allow a single non-curricular related student group on campus must let all non-curricular related student groups on campus. Again, the age and maturity level of high school students is different than elementary and junior high school students. The second is that federal money supports church-run day care centers. Child care is a different issue from public education because unlike public education each state does not have a well-established day care system and "religious education or indoctrination is a much more significant issue for children older than four," a variation on the age and maturity level argument (Wells & Biegel, 1992, p. 30).

### **Distinguishing Features**

School choice, then broadly defined, includes proposals for open enrollment within districts, for transfers between districts, and for the use of vouchers to pay for private school education. For analytical purposes, there are four features which distinguish choice programs.

- (1) Are schools allowed to select students or is school assignment based on individual preferences and some impersonal allocation mechanism? Prohibiting schools from selecting students may undermine their ability to differentiate their educational agenda. However, school selection of students could lead to segregation of the academically elite from other students or segmentation on the basis of race.
- (2) Are prices unregulated? A pure market system relies on price to allocate spaces at popular schools. Excess demand increases tuition; empty desks lower tuition. With product differentiation, we would expect to see an array of price-quality combinations. The negative consequence is that we are also likely to see segmentation of students based on the income of their parents. This could violate principles of equity and equal opportunity. On the other hand, with prices fixed, there is little incentive for a school to invest in product quality if this investment raises its



variable costs.

- (3) Do financial rewards (school revenues; school budget; teacher salaries) vary directly with consumer demand for the school? In a private market, a producer with a high value added product will have greater demand and thus greater revenue. The profits signal new producers to enter and offer similar products. Schools that offer low value added will have small revenues and could eventually go bankrupt and exit the market. In theory, it is through this mechanism that school choice increases the quality of neighborhood schools. If a school's budget is independent of its ranking, there is no incentive for a low quality school to improve.
- (4) What are the barriers to entry? Will government regulations or economies of scale limit the number of potential entrants? This question addresses whether a private market for schooling will be monopolistically competitive or a differentiated oligopoly.

## SCHOOL CHOICE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Proponents of school choice consistently cite three types of evidence to support the argument that school choice will improve educational outcomes. (1) Parochial schools achieve better outcomes at lower costs than do public schools, especially with African American children; (2) magnet schools increase educational attainment (higher test scores or lower dropout rates) of its students; and (3) experimental programs such as those in Cambridge and in East Harlem, appear to be a success.

### Parochial Schools

Catholic schools spend fewer dollars per pupil than do public schools, but their students score higher on standardized tests. This section investigates whether Catholic schools are indeed more efficient than public schools and discusses the relevance of the Catholic school experience for the debate over school choice.

The prime sources of information on the comparative performance of Catholic and public schools are studies conducted by James Coleman et al. using data from nationwide surveys of high school students

(Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). The first Coleman report analyzed standardized test scores of sophomores; the second analyzed the improvement in scores between sophomore and senior years and the dropout rate.

Critics of the first study argued that it failed to adequately control for background differences between students at public and private schools (*Sociology of Education Review*, 1982, 1983, 1985). Hence, the higher achievement levels the study finds at the private schools could be due to self-selection bias. Private schools might have started with better raw material.

The second Coleman study corrects for the self-selection bias both by comparing students with equal propensity to enroll in Catholic or non-Catholic private schools and by examining the improvement in test scores between the sophomore and senior years (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). By analyzing the improvement in scores, the study eliminates some of the differences between students that reflect their pre-enrollment experiences. Even after accounting for differences in background characteristics, students in Catholic schools achieve higher increases in their verbal, mathematics, and writing scores, but not in science and civics. The positive benefits of Catholic schools are greatest for non-White students and for students from families of low socioeconomic standing. On the other hand, non-Catholic private schools generally are not as effective as public schools in improving the test scores of these students.

A comparison of dropout rates across the three sectors yields similar findings. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to drop out from Catholic schools than from public or other private schools. These findings appear to be independent of the students' religious affiliation.

Coleman and Hoffer attribute the success of Catholic schools to the strong community based orientation of those schools. They identify three different orientations to schooling: "...the school as agent of the larger society or the state; the school as agent of the (religious) community; and the school as an agent of the individual family" (p.xxvii). The first orientation is the traditional orientation of public schools. The second orientation is the orientation of Catholic schools; the school is the agent of the Catholic church. The third is the orientation of most non-Catholic private schools. Coleman and Hoffer argue that Catholic schools succeed with students from disadvantaged backgrounds because the

school substitutes for family as a support system. In contrast, family background appears to be a critical determinant of success in non-Catholic private schools.

Coleman and Hoffer's analysis suggests that the success of Catholic schools with African American and Hispanic students is due primarily to the greater academic demands imposed on these students in Catholic schools. African American and Hispanics in Catholic schools are more likely to be in academic programs, take more semesters of academic course work and do more homework in Catholic schools than they are in non-Catholic schools. Coleman and Hoffer attribute the ability of Catholic schools to make greater demands on their students to their community based orientation.

There are several reasons why a school choice program may not duplicate the test score improvements achieved by Catholic schools.

(1) *Differences in School Composition.* Private schools have selective admissions policies. Public schools, by definition, do not. Some school choice proposals would give participating schools this option; others do not. Schools that can select students have student bodies with higher socioeconomic status on average than do schools that must accept all comers.

The selective admissions issue is important because the composition of a school's student body affects the achievement level of individual students. African American and Hispanic students, in particular, benefit from attending schools with high average socioeconomic status and with lower percentages of Blacks and Hispanics. The higher the average score on standardized tests by the sophomores in a school, the bigger the improvement in test scores experienced by African American and Hispanic students. Verbal skills of African American and Hispanic students especially benefit relative to Whites.

Parochial schools are able to exclude disruptive students. The exclusion of disruptive students has spillover benefits for other students in the school. The evidence in the Coleman and Hoffer study on students with disciplinary problems in Catholic schools presents a somewhat mixed picture. Catholic school students perceive their schools to be more orderly, but the rates of absenteeism and tardiness are the same as in public schools. There is evidence to suggest that students with disciplinary problems upon entry to Catholic school are likely to leave for public schools. Non-Catholic private schools do not accept students with

behavior problems.

(2) *Higher Costs at Non-Catholic Schools.* Public schools have higher per pupil expenditures than Catholic schools. These differences are not attributable solely to the greater efficiency of Catholic schools. There are differences in program offerings. The science facilities at Catholic schools are less extensive, as evidenced by the lower performance of their students in this area. Catholic schools do not provide some of the specialized services for students with disabilities and other special needs provided at public schools. Catholic schools use inputs, members of their religious communities and church-owned properties, that are priced at less than their market value.

In recent years, Catholic schools in inner city neighborhoods have been shutting down or merging with larger student bodies outside these communities. These closures raise questions about the economic viability of a private market for schooling in these communities.

(3) *Differences in Orientation.* School choice stresses the role of the family in the schooling process. It proposes a change in orientation from the school as agent of society to school as agent of the family. The focus is on decision-making by the individual, decision-making by the individual household unit. This orientation differs from that of Catholic schools where the school functions as an agent of a religious community. It resembles instead the orientation of non-Catholic private schools. These non-Catholic private schools are generally less successful at educating students from disadvantaged backgrounds than are public schools.

The experience of Catholic schools suggests a quite different direction for public policy. Rather than greater emphasis on individual and family choice, it suggests a greater need to tie schools to the functional communities they serve. Coleman and Hoffer identify the workplace as one such functional community and recommend federal and state policies that encourage organization of schools around places of work.

## MAGNET SCHOOLS

A survey of the research on the effectiveness of magnet schools offers an ambiguous verdict—magnet schools sometimes do better than zoned schools, sometimes not.

In his survey of evaluative studies of magnet schools, Dentler

reports that the scores of students on standardized tests at magnet schools tend to lie above the average score for the school's district (Dentler, 1991). But this is by no means a consistent relationship. In some school districts, the magnet schools do worse on average. While the studies generally recognize that the most motivated students elect magnet schools, they lack the detailed data on socioeconomic characteristics of students to correct for this sample selection bias.

An exception is a study of the effectiveness of New York City's career magnets by Crain, Heebner and Si (1990). This study is notable in part because of the special character of the selection process for admission to a career magnet. A random selection process fills one half of the available openings. Students list their choices. A lottery is held. Spaces are filled beginning with the student with the lowest number who listed that magnet as first choice. Once the randomly assigned spaces are filled, the schools select from the remaining applications the additional students they wish to enroll. Students and teachers do not know who was randomly selected and who was selected by the school.

The Crain study exploits this application process to compare the academic achievement of students randomly accepted with those randomly rejected. Because New York career magnets are both schools within schools and freestanding programs, the study is able to distinguish the effectiveness of the two types of programs. The problem of self-selection bias is minimized because the study considers only applicants to the same program who listed the program as their first choice. Lottery winners and lottery losers had very similar scores on the standardized tests administered during the eighth grade.

The study compares the academic outcomes between eighth and ninth grades for students randomly selected (lottery winners) and those randomly rejected (lottery losers). Students with average reading scores appear to benefit most from the attendance at a career magnet. They are less likely to drop out than lottery losers and achieve greater increases in their reading scores. However, the career magnets are not as effective in educating students with below average reading scores. Students with below average or missing reading scores derive less benefit from attending a career magnet than do average readers. The below average readers in comprehensive high schools posted greater improvements in their reading scores, but lottery winners were more likely to pass their regent's math test. Below average readers at career magnets also experienced larger increases in absenteeism than did students with similar

reading scores in comprehensive high schools.

The results from this study offer some insights into what a school choice program, with tuitions regulated, might look like. The first observation, as Crain notes, addresses the concern that school choice could lead to racially segregated schools. The Crain study concludes that magnet schools have reduced racial segregation relative to what would occur under a system of comprehensive neighborhood high schools.

This paper provides little evidence on the impact of the magnet school program on the comprehensive neighborhood high schools. We don't know how the lottery losers would have fared had the lottery winners remained in their zoned high schools. However, the structure of the selection process in New York limits the amount of cream skimming. Magnet schools have quotas within each level of reading ability—above average, average and below average.

While the experience of magnet schools may be more relevant than that of parochial schools, there are some key differences between the magnet school concept and school choice plans.

(1) *The Structure of Financial Incentives.* An important difference between magnet school programs and proposed school choice programs is the lack of financial incentive for schools to compete for students. In general, the budget allocations of neighborhood schools are not reduced on a dollar for dollar basis by the transfer of local students to magnet schools. In proposed school choice programs, the implicit scholarship funds associated with each student follow that student when he or she transfers from one school or another. In theory, school choice should increase the quality of the neighborhood schools by forcing them to compete with more attractive schools in other neighborhoods. This is not a feature of most magnet school programs.

(2) *Higher Costs at Magnet Schools.* It is also noteworthy that magnet schools appear to cost more per student than nonmagnet schools (Dentler, 1991; Chabotar, 1989). Advocates for school choice frequently argue that under choice costs per pupil would be the same or perhaps lower. The evidence from magnet schools suggests that a specialized school would have to charge a higher tuition to cover its cost than would a high school offering a traditional curriculum.



### SCHOOL CHOICE EXPERIMENTS

As noted earlier, school choice programs are already in effect in the East Harlem school district in New York, in the state of Minnesota, and in several school districts in Massachusetts. The evidence of the effect of these programs on educational attainment remains anecdotal.

#### East Harlem

An example is the success story of the East Harlem School District Four. According to the New York City Board of Education, the district was approximately 45 percent Hispanic and 25 percent African American as of the 1990-91 school year. There are large numbers of bilingual and English as a Second Language (ESL) classes throughout the district (Alperstein, 1992). All schools in the district have a larger percentage of their student bodies in free or reduced meal programs than the city average (54 percent to 45 percent), which is a strong indicator of poverty (Alperstein, 1992). In the 1970s, East Harlem ranked 32nd of the city's 32 districts (McArdle, 1992). Less than 15 percent of the students read at grade level in 1972 (Fliegel, 1989). In 1973, only ten students were admitted to New York City's competitive high schools (Fliegel, 1989).<sup>3</sup> The school district made a number of changes, including the introduction of a school choice program at the intermediate school level. By 1987, the district ranked 15th out of the city's 32 districts and 62.6 percent of the students were reading at grade level (McArdle, 1992). In 1988, 250 students were admitted to New York City's competitive high schools (Fliegel, 1989).

The improvements in educational attainment in East Harlem are popularly attributed to the introduction of school choice. However, there were a number of other changes occurring at the same time. First, the school district allowed teachers to set up small schools where they would have greater control over their classrooms (Fiske, 1991). Second, business sponsorship of schools expanded. The business community offered not only expanded financial resources but also mentors and other management advice (Alperstein, 1992). Without careful study, it is

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<sup>3</sup> A report from the U.S. Department of Education (Paulu, 1989) reports that only four students were admitted to competitive high schools in 1973.



difficult to conclude which factor led to the improvement in the district's performance as measured by average scores on standardized tests.

There are similar problems with the evidence cited from other school choice experiments. In Cambridge, dropout rates declined (Paulu, 1989); average student achievement increased (Chubb & Moe, 1990); and the achievement gap between Black and White students narrowed (Larson et al., 1990). However, there were a number of pedagogical and curricular changes supplemental to the implementation of school choice that could explain these improvements (Blank & Messnier, cited in Larson et al., 1990).

### Minnesota

The Minnesota experiment is notable because it was not accompanied by major revisions in curriculum. There is little evidence of the impact of this choice venture on student achievement, but participants do express greater satisfaction with their schools. The impact of the Minnesota program on enrollments has been small. Most districts, 75 percent, experienced less than a one percent change in enrollment. Four districts experienced a net loss of more than five percent and eight, a net gain of more than five percent (Larson, 1990).

The Minnesota experiment does raise warning flags about the vulnerability of small school districts to changes in enrollment. Larson et al. relate the story of the Mountain Iron school district in which a political dispute led to the transfer of 167 students to another district. This departure had such a big financial impact on the district that it required a special subsidy.

Voucher programs, like the one in Milwaukee, are too new and have too few participants to evaluate fully their educational effect. A one year evaluative study of the Milwaukee program (Witte, 1991) examined test scores for choice students before and after entry into the program and found no dramatic changes. In 1990, the median national ranking on reading component of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills for students participating in the choice program was the 30th percentile and for low-income public school students, the 32nd percentile. On the mathematics component, the median national ranking for choice students was the 33rd percentile and for low-income public school students, the 37th percentile. By 1991, the median ranking of choice students had increased on reading to the 34th percentile but dropped in mathematics to the 30th percentile. The percentile ranking of public school students dropped both in reading,

to the 31st percentile; and in mathematics, to the 35th percentile. For 76 students, Witte was able to compare their individual test scores before and after entry into the choice program (Witte, 1991, p. 18, footnote 15). Fifty-one percent improved their scores in reading and 47 percent improved their scores in mathematics, but the changes were not statistically significant.

Parents expressed general satisfaction with the program: 85 percent were at least somewhat satisfied with the amount their child learned (Witte, 1991, Appendix G). Only 51 percent of the choice parents expressed similar levels of satisfaction with their public school. Yet, nearly half of the choice students did not return to their schools for a second year: of the 341 students who began the program, only 155 returned. The closing of one choice school in midyear affected 63 students, and 8 students graduated from choice schools. Even with these students omitted, only 57 percent of the original choice students returned to the program. Eighty-six students left the program between June 1991 and September 1991. This discrepancy between attitudes and actions could be due to residential mobility or to response bias, as Witte suggests, (1991). Or, Witte's survey may have oversampled satisfied parents. The survey was conducted in June 1991 and only 42.5 percent of surveyed parents responded. By June, the attrition rate was already 27 percent. Yet, of the 135 parents who answered the question, "how satisfied were you with the amount your child learned in last year's school," only 15 percent no longer had children in the choice program.

In Milwaukee, the high attrition rate of students was matched by a high turnover rate for faculty and administrators at the participating schools. Two schools began the school year with new principals who did last into the second term. Average teacher seniority was 4.2 years and 50 percent of the teachers queried in the 1990-91 school year indicated plans to look for other, higher paying jobs for 91-92. Low pay also limited the ability of the choice schools to attract minority faculty.

Milwaukee's efforts to prevent cream skimming appear to have been somewhat successful. Students admitted to the choice program had lower achievement levels than the average public school student. Their family income levels were similar to those of public school students qualifying for free or reduced price lunches. Choice parents were less likely to be employed and less likely to be married than comparable public school parents, but they were slightly better educated. However, the choice program generally excluded learning disabled and emotionally

disturbed children.

Witte's study offers very little information on the racial composition of the choice schools. Seventy-four percent of choice participants were African American and 19 percent were Hispanic, but choice students could make up no more than 49 percent of a school's enrollment. Hence, it is difficult to infer the racial composition of the student bodies from this information. The majority of the choice students attended four schools. Two of these schools emphasized African American culture, and one bilingualism and Hispanic culture. Nevertheless, the teaching staff at the choice schools was disproportionately White and female—a source of some racial tensions (Witte, 1991).

### Iowa

Iowa's school choice plan has led to the movement of White students from the relatively urban Des Moines district (30,000 students; 20 percent minority) to surrounding suburban districts. In the first two years of the program, 402 White students left the district while only 11 minority students transferred.<sup>4</sup> The program has cost Des Moines an estimated 1.2 million dollars in revenues (Walsh, 1992). The Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Davenport, Sioux City, and Waterloo districts, all with 10 percent or more minority populations, face similar problems (Siebert, 1992).

### Summary

It is probably too soon to draw any major conclusions from the existing experience with school choice. The most dramatic evidence in favor of school choice comes from the East Harlem experiment. The East Harlem experience, however, may be unique. It is a densely populated urban district with an overwhelmingly poor, minority population. Because choices were limited to schools within the district, there was little opportunity for White flight. Because the geographic area is relatively limited and there is an extensive public transportation system in place,

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<sup>4</sup> This is the number reported in a *New York Times* article, but it has not been verified with school officials. The Gannett News Service reported that 236 students left the district through the open enrollment plan in 1992, with 11 of them minority students.

transportation costs did not appear to limit participation. Other school choice experiments suggest somewhat different outcomes.

**Low Levels of Participation.** In Minnesota, most districts experienced a less than one percent change in enrollments. The Iowa Department of Education predicts that less than five percent of students will exercise the open enrollment option. At present, less than one percent of students in urban districts transfer out of district. Although many programs expected to attract minority students or those from disadvantaged backgrounds, minority students and students eligible for free lunch programs are less likely to participate than non-minority students. Transportation costs and convenience appear to be important factors in explaining the reluctance of families, especially those with low income, to participate in these programs (Siebert, 1992).

The Milwaukee program, by law, can enroll only one percent of the public school population (940 students in 1990). The September 1991 enrollment was only 562. In Milwaukee's case the low enrollments are driven by supply rather than demand. Two hundred forty-one applicants were turned down the first year and 135 the second, because of lack of space. Some circumstantial evidence, such as low teacher pay and the bankruptcy of one school, raises questions about the financial viability of the choice schools.

**White Flight.** Des Moines had a within-district open enrollment plan ten years before the state plan was implemented. Participants in this plan reflected the district's overall demographic make-up (Walsh, 1992). In contrast, with the introduction of open enrollment across districts, the students who opted to transfer were primarily White from families with higher incomes.

This empirical evidence suggests that schools of choice may be more effective in educating some students than others, and that they may be more effective in some situations than in others. However, the explanations for the failures and successes of parochial schools, private schools, and magnet schools are largely speculative. Comparisons of private schools and public schools or of magnet schools and public schools provide only limited information about a system in which all schools are private or one in which all schools are magnet schools. The lack of detailed data on student bodies and the lack of controls for changes in other factors which might influence outcomes hamper evaluations of existing school choice schemes.

### A PRIVATE MARKET FOR SCHOOLS— WHAT WOULD IT LOOK LIKE?

The case for school choice presumes that a private market for schooling will be competitive and thus provide the best quality of products at the least cost. This analysis assumes that: (1) the positive externalities associated with schooling can be internalized through government subsidy; (2) there are no demand interdependencies; and (3) the private market will be perfectly competitive. In this section, we accept the first assumption but question the second two.

#### **Market Structure and Conduct**

A purely private market for schooling will be characterized by product differentiation and demand interdependencies. The competitiveness of the market will depend on the extent of economies of scale and on the barriers to entry imposed by government regulations. We have relatively little information about both parameters.

**Demand.** Schools are likely to be differentiated from one another on the basis of location, curriculum, educational approach and cultural focus. If mandatory attendance laws are enforced, the total number of students will be exogenously determined. However, the number of applicants to any one school will depend on the characteristics of the school and the tuition charged.

Location is an important attribute. Transportation costs can figure importantly in the cost of attending school outside one's neighborhood. In Minnesota, participation in the statewide choice program was very limited until the state began to subsidize transportation costs.

An individual's choice of school may also depend on the identity of other students. This demand interdependence emerges for several reasons: (1) Parents may choose school status over school quality where a school's status depends on the socioeconomic characteristics of its student body (Wells & Crain, 1992). (2) Schools provide a social environment as well as an educational environment. Parents and children may prefer an environment where the other parents and children are like them. Poor and minority parents may choose the comfort of their neighborhood school over a school they perceive as superior located in a White, wealthier suburb (Wells, cited in Wells & Crain, 1992). White students choose their predominantly White zoned schools over specialized high schools where they may be in the minority (Crain et al., 1990). (3)

Finally, parents may judge a school's quality directly from the characteristics of its student body or indirectly from measures of school quality which are affected by the characteristics of the student body. For example, in New York City, the local newspapers annually publish the average reading scores of all public elementary schools. These average reading scores are the product of not only the school's quality but also of the abilities and preparedness of its student body.

**Economies of Scale.** Anecdotal evidence suggests there are economies of scale in schooling. Larger schools can earn discounts on bulk purchases. The costs of specialized staff and facilities, like gyms, science laboratories and the teachers with specialties in those subjects, can be spread out over a large number of students. Chabotar (1989) reports a negative correlation between per pupil costs and magnet school enrollment. Lieberman notes that only the largest school districts operate specialized high schools (1989). He also infers the existence of significant economies of multiplant operation from the experience of a national chain of learning centers and predicts that "greater reliance on for-profit enterprise is likely to result in the emergence of large companies that develop, sell, and/or manage educational services." Studies indicate that there may be diseconomies of scale after the number of students exceeds 1,675 (Riew, 1966; Cohn, 1968, cited by Chabotar, 1989).

**Barriers to Entry and Exit.** Government regulation of school practices could pose a barrier to entry into this market. States could demand that teachers must meet minimum certification requirements; that buildings meet certain fire and safety standards, etc. If there is price regulation, states may restrict entry to protect the economic viability of existing schools.

Almost as critical an issue is the existence of barriers to exit. A school, once established, may have contractual obligations which require expenditures even if there is no demand for its products. Barriers to exit of this type could deter the entry of profit-making firms into the school market. In addition, subsidies which prevent a public school from going broke could degrade the market incentives for quality improvement.

**Information Imperfections.** One concern among opponents of school choice is that some parents may not have the necessary information to choose the schools most suited for their children. Information may be especially costly for parents who speak a language other than English or who are unable to leave work to visit schools.

Even the most fluent and well-educated parent is likely to lack



information about the financial viability of a school. In a private market, a school can fail, closing its doors in the middle of a school year. This fact was vividly illustrated by the January closing of Juanita Virgil Academy in Milwaukee, which left 63 students stranded. There are psychic costs as well as additional dollar expenditures associated with switching schools in mid-year. In addition, there is the risk that there will not be space available in the most preferred school.

### **The Welfare Economics of a Private Market in Schooling**

Previous investigations of the welfare economics of industries selling differentiated products identify three potential problems: (1) there can be too many products relative to the welfare optimum; (2) there can be wasteful duplication—too much sameness, especially if prices are regulated; and (3) high value, small group users tend to be under served. The fact that schools may differentiate themselves on the basis of the customers they attract further complicates this analysis.

***Too Many Schools?*** A basic problem with monopolistically competitive industries is the tradeoff between the realization of economies of scale and tailoring products to meet the needs of individual consumers. For example, a private tutor may exactly meet the needs of his or her tutee, but the average cost per student of a school composed of private tutors would be very high. A lecture with 200 students may move too quickly or too slowly for most of the class, but the average cost will be low.

Monopolistically competitive schools may not fully realize economies of scale. This could result in a misallocation of resources, especially if curricula are very similar. As schools differentiate themselves from one another, they segment the population into smaller and smaller pieces. A system with a large number of schools targeted at special interests will have higher average costs and could fail to achieve one of the social goals of education—teaching people from diverse heritages and backgrounds to coexist.

East Harlem's "school within a school" concept solves one of these problems by converting economies of scale into economies of scope. The fixed costs of the school building, maintenance, staff, and administrative overhead are shared among an array of "schools" within a single variety. This suggests a market with competition between multi-product firms, each offering an array of "schools" within a single facility.

The tendency for too many schools is moderated by the fact that



a school is a social environment as well as an educational environment. A smaller school may lose students simply because it is a small school as student's seek out a larger environment where they are more likely to find people with common interests.

Barriers to entry also limit the tendency for too many schools. Choice programs limiting the choice to public schools retain restrictions on entry which limit the number of competitors. Hence, there is little indication in existing choice programs of too many schools.

***Too Much Sameness?*** Most of the literature on school choice, pro and con, assumes that there will be a diverse array of educational programs available. Yet, economic theory tells us that this may not be the case. In Hotelling's classic example of ice cream vendors on the beach, once the location of the first vendor is fixed, the second vendor has a tendency to locate as close to the first as possible to maximize the size of its market. In Spence and Owen's model of television programming (Spence & Owen, 1977), competitive stations tended to duplicate each other's programming; stations controlled by a single monopoly tended to produce least common denominator programming, programming that everyone is willing to watch, but no one really likes. The current public school system resembles the single monopoly case in the Spence and Owen model. With regulated prices, competitive schools might look like competitive television stations.

In Minnesota, where the choice program allows no price competition, the school curriculum is quite similar across districts. In Milwaukee, despite the avowed emphasis in two schools on African American culture, Witte observed little difference in curriculum: "...although classrooms and hallways were decorated with multicultural themes, and historical and cultural examples were more prevalent than in schools without a specific cultural emphasis, instructional patterns, exercises, books and materials were not that different from other schools" (Witte, 1991, p. 14).

Price competition mitigates this tendency towards too much sameness. If schools must compete on the basis of tuition as well as on the basis of curriculum, there is an incentive to locate far away from rival schools so as to exercise greater control over price. The tendency toward too much sameness is also mitigated by demand advantages possessed by the school that is the pioneer in a particular area or by the school with the greatest prestige in a specific area. Once established, the school with the greatest prestige or status will attract more students than similar schools,

other things equal. This feature of demand encourages potential rivals to differentiate themselves from the market leader.

Government regulation may mandate some degree of sameness across educational programs by setting national curriculum standards or by instituting nationwide testing. Notably, some of the most vocal supporters of school choice also support the introduction of national standards (Levin, 1989).

**High Value, Small Group Users.** Too much sameness is likely to come at the expense of groups with needs or preferences which are quite different from the general population. In the context of schooling, this could include the gifted and talented, students in isolated rural locations, students with learning disabilities, students who have a history of disciplinary problems, etc. (Catholic schools and the Milwaukee choice schools illustrate this tendency through their exclusion of emotionally disturbed and learning disabled students.)

One solution would be to give these students larger vouchers or to allow schools to charge higher tuition for the high value, small group users. The higher per pupil payment would compensate for the lower volume of students and in some cases, higher educational expense.

**Discrimination.** One way that schools may differentiate themselves from each other is in their selection of students. If parents have tastes for discrimination, then in equilibrium there is a tendency for schools to have homogeneous student bodies along the lines of race, socioeconomic status, or religion. The schools with homogeneous student bodies will command a price premium or will have waiting lists for admission. Schools with heterogeneous populations may have to offer a price discount to attract students.

The distribution of the costs of discrimination will depend on the relative sizes of different population subgroups. In cities with large concentrations of Blacks and Hispanics and no option for transfers outside the city, White students may pay a premium to attend schools where they are in the majority. The premium could take the form of higher tuition or lower school quality. In localities where Blacks and Hispanics are small minorities of the population, it is the Black and Hispanic students who may pay for discrimination. Schools composed solely of Black and Hispanic students may not be able to exploit economies of scale. Either tuition must be higher or quality of schooling lower.

On the other hand, minority students in integrated schools could benefit from discrimination. A racially integrated school must compensate

White students with tastes for discrimination to attract them from all-White schools. To compensate White students, schools could offer lower tuition, higher quality or some combination of the two. The Black and Hispanic students attending those schools would also benefit from the lower tuition and higher quality even if they don't share the same tastes for discrimination.

If housing is racially segregated, discrimination could deprive minority communities, too small to support their own school, of neighborhood schools. This increases the cost of schooling to individual families through higher transportation costs, and may have negative consequences for the community at large. Schools often function as meeting houses or offer other community services.

### Summary

The characteristics of a private market in schooling will depend on the level of government regulation of entry and exit, on government regulation of price, and on economies of scale. With prices regulated, there is a tendency for too much sameness and for too many schools. With prices unregulated, student bodies might be segmented by race, religion, or socioeconomic status. Under the current system, there is a problem of too little variety.

## RECONSIDERING THE OPTIONS

There are essentially two politically viable proposals for implementation of school choice. The first, choice among public schools, is similar to a private market with price regulation. If school budgets depend on the number of students, schools have a positive incentive to maximize the number of applicants. Competition for the largest group could lead to too much duplication of curriculum and under service of high value, small group users. (We recall that New York City magnet schools improve the scores of average readers, but not of below average readers.) Depending on the barriers to entry and on the economies of scale, there could be too many schools. However, there is likely to be greater variety than under a monopoly system, like the status quo, and the needs of the average student are more likely to be met. Depending on the size of the geographic area in which choice is permitted, there could be additional segmentation of students by race or socioeconomic standing.

It is worth noting that there is no consensus, even among Black educators and parents, on the desirability of racial integration (Ratteray, 1991; Willie, 1991).

The alternative is a voucher scheme. With a voucher scheme and no regulation of price, we are likely to see a range of price-quality combinations with the local "free" public school fixing the lower boundary. There will be more variety than under a system with price regulation, but the greater variety could be accompanied by greater segmentation of students. There could be negative spillover effects for the least desirable students whether in public schools or grouped together in private schools. (We recall from the Catholic school experience that Black and Hispanic students do better as the average socioeconomic standing of the student body increases.)

With either option, individual schools would have greater autonomy than under the current system. For Chubb and Moe (1990), this is the main argument in favor of school choice. Three empirical observations form the basis of their support for school choice: (1) effective school organization improves educational attainment; (2) less central bureaucracy leads to more effective school organization; and (3) the private schools have greater autonomy and, thus, have more effective organization. Chubb and Moe argue that school choice will reduce the control exercised by central districts, lead to more effective school organization and higher levels of student achievement.

Chubb and Moe construct a measure of school organization based on a 1984 survey of administrators and principals at a subsample of schools included in the High School and Beyond survey. Their index incorporates ten different indicators of school organization including, among others, graduation requirements, staff harmony, the amount of homework assigned, teacher absenteeism, and the effectiveness of disciplinary practices. In a multivariate analysis of the determinants of student achievement, effective school organization has a positive, significant effect on school achievement. A key component of school organization that contributes to improved student achievement is the proportion of students in a college preparatory program. Private schools are less likely to track students into vocational training. This finding is consistent with Coleman and Hoffer's (1987) conclusion that the higher achievement levels of African American and Hispanics in Catholic schools are linked to their higher enrollment in academic programs in those schools.

As Chubb and Moe (1990) acknowledge, their statistical model fails to fully disentangle cause and effect relationships. Effective school organization may improve student achievement, but higher student achievement may lead to more effective school organization, as well. Some components of their index of effective organization are more vulnerable to this criticism than others. Student ability and background are likely to affect the principal's estimation of the excellence of the teaching staff, teacher absenteeism, staff harmony, the percentage of students in the academic track and even the quantity of homework assigned.

Results from their empirical study of the determinants of effective school organization appear to underscore this concern. One of the most important factors influencing school organization is the personal characteristics of the student body. A school is more likely to be effectively organized if its students are from families with high socioeconomic status and if its students are well-behaved.

A lack of precision in measuring the effectiveness of school organization adds to the complexity of distinguishing cause and effect. The index of school effectiveness is constructed from the subjective evaluations of teachers and principals of their own schools. Differences in principals' personalities could affect principal evaluations of teachers. Even seemingly objective indicators like the quantity of homework assigned could be affected by differences in the definition of homework across schools.

A second important factor influencing school organization is the level of bureaucratic control over administrative and personnel decision-making. Less bureaucratic control leads to more effective schools. What then are the determinants of bureaucratic control? Their data reveal that private schools have more autonomy than public schools; that urban schools have less autonomy than those in non-urban locations; and that the socioeconomic status of parents does not matter. These results are suspect, however, because of potential problems with multicollinearity. Private schools tend to have students with above average socioeconomic backgrounds. Urban schools have a higher proportion of students from below average socioeconomic backgrounds. There may be very few data in the sample of private schools with students from below average backgrounds or of urban public schools with students from above average socioeconomic backgrounds. We can't conclude with confidence that the coefficients on these variables capture the effect of variation in

location or sector independent of variation in family background.

Chubb and Moe argue that the important determinant of bureaucratic influence is the institutional environment. Public schools have less autonomy because they are subject to democratic control.

Direct democratic control stimulates a political struggle over the right to impose higher order values on the schools through public authority, and this in turn promotes bureaucracy—which is a crucial means of ensuring that these higher-order values are actually implemented at the school level (by personnel who may not agree with them) and a crucial means of insulating them from subversion by groups and officials who may gain hold of public authority in the future. (1990, p. 167)

In contrast, competition polices the moral values embodied in the curriculum at private schools. To borrow from Coleman and Hoffer's terminology, public schools are agents of the state and thus the state exercises control; private schools are agents of individual families and thus the families exercise control. Families vote with their dollars and their feet by simply withdrawing from one school and enrolling in another. By a similar argument, Catholic schools may also be bureaucracy prone. The school is the agent of a religious community. As Chubb and Moe observe, the imposition of the higher order values of this religious community may require bureaucratic controls, particularly in large urban settings with schools organized on a diocese-wide basis.

The empirical evidence presented in *Politics, Markets and America's Schools* suggests the existence of a tradeoff between the costs of bureaucratic influence and the benefits of using schools to create a common set of values and knowledge among citizens. Hence, even if a private market for schools improves the achievement scores of individual students, it may be less effective at achieving the social goals of education.

Clearly no one scheme is perfect. In addition, there are a number of issues which this paper does not address. For example, with a private market, what will be the mix between non-profit and for-profit institutions? How will school funding change under alternative choice schemes? One argument in favor of choice is that it will increase the willingness of middle-class parents who send their children to private



schools to vote for funding of public schools. The Minnesota plan raises questions about the role in setting the budget for local schools of parents who have transferred out of district. These questions require further research and thought.

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**ADDRESSING THE CONTINUITIES  
AND DISCONTINUITIES  
BETWEEN FAMILY AND SCHOOL  
FOR ETHNIC MINORITY CHILDREN**

**Sharon Nelson-Le Gall**

**INTRODUCTION**

This paper concerns one of the most significant transitions children in a modern, industrialized society will make—entry into the world of formal schooling and the degree of continuity or discontinuity that children experience as they move from home to school. Both schools and families have come under attack for the educational woes facing the nation. Schools are accused of failing to provide quality education in the core academic disciplines to all children. Families are charged with failing to prepare their children adequately for the classroom learning. This paper examines the overlapping, yet distinct, contexts that families and schools provide for children's learning and development. It is argued that the interface between ethnic minority families and the school can be best understood in the context of the ethnic groups' overall historical, social, political, and economic experiences.

### THE FAMILY AND SCHOOL CONNECTION

Much attention is paid to the skill levels of adults in families today who must act as parents and teachers (Weston, 1989). Parents are, in fact, a child's first teachers. They serve as models, guides, and mentors to children in their daily activities. It is, therefore, important to understand what parents are educating their children for in those early years and whether, and in what ways, parents' role as teacher in the home is compatible with that of the professional's role in the formal education setting of the school.

We must bear in mind that families and schools are overlapping, yet distinct, contexts for children's learning and development. Families and schools share some goals in common. Yet, each has unique goals for children and society. The discontinuities between families and schools are rooted in their different cultural functions and purposes (Griffore & Bubulz, 1986; Lightfoot, 1978).

The family has the principal responsibility for the well-being and development of its children from birth until the children are capable of functioning independently and responsibly for themselves. In the context of family, children acquire the basic skills, knowledge, and beliefs essential for adaptive functioning in their social group and community. Learning in the family begins at birth and continues throughout the years of formal schooling and beyond. Children master a multiplicity of roles and relations in the family context that are required for life in the family's social group or culture and that forges the core of their identities. The learning that occurs in the family context is generally informal, incidental to the successful performance of tasks with direct cultural meaning and practical consequence to the child, and it is often implicit.

In contrast, the function of the school is to help prepare children for life in the larger society. Its function as a societal institution has been to promote national unity through cultural homogeneity (Phenice, Martinez, & Grant, 1986). Compared to the family, the school's sphere of responsibility is considerably less inclusive. School begins later in children's lives and is limited in duration. Children's relations with school end after a specified period of time (Lightfoot, 1978). In school, children generally occupy one primary role—that of student. Finally, as Cole and Cole (1989) note, formal schooling embraces a distinctive model of education and learning in which children are expected to learn how to

gain information about the world by manipulating abstract symbols. Instead of learning by doing, children must learn by reading, writing, and calculating. Children must work for years in school to perfect skills before they can put their knowledge to much practical use. Instead of learning and performing in the context of mutual and ongoing, social relationships, children in school must work independently from others and often even without any social communication (Nelson-Le Gall, 1992a).

Discontinuity between family and school is not necessarily undesirable. For instance, the discontinuity can be a vehicle for expanding opportunities for individual development because children are exposed to a wider range of knowledge, experiences, value systems, role models, and expectations for the future. Discontinuity, however, can have negative effects. Negative effects are likely when the values, knowledge, and role models to which children are exposed in the home are different from those at school and are ignored, undermined, or unknown (see Brice-Heath, 1982). Such conflicts siphon off the energies of students and teachers that might otherwise be invested in developing academic skills. Discontinuities between the family life that children experience at home (e.g., low-income, father absent households, step-families, extended families) and the idealized models of family life assumed by and presented in school (two-parent nuclear families) can also present problems for the child whose family does not match the ideal presented.

### FAMILIES AND SCHOOLS IN THE CENTRAL-CITY, URBAN SETTING

A majority of ethnic minority families currently live in urban areas. There is a continuing increase in the proportion of racial and ethnic minority students who make up the population of urban, public schools in the United States. Even American Indians, who were the exception, residing mainly in rural areas and on reservations, have migrated increasingly to large metropolitan areas. In 1980, 55 percent of American Indians resided in urban areas (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Throughout the 1980s, African American and Hispanic American students constituted the majority of public school students in the central cities of metropolitan areas (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1992). These changes in the ethnic and racial composition of the student body have created special challenges for the schools. Moreover, because

many of the minority students come from impoverished families they may lack adequate preparation for elementary school learning.

Often the teachers and academic administrators in urban schools differ ethnically and racially from the students and their families; the teachers' and administrators' socioeconomic status and home neighborhoods differ greatly as well. Thus, school personnel may often feel as uncomfortable and out of place, if not more so, in the everyday community environments of the students, as the students feel in school. Such educators are simply out of touch with the daily realities of life in urban communities as experienced by students and their families.

Rearing families in urban areas requires considerable resources—resources that many ethnic minority families in those areas are the least likely to have in adequate supply. The urban minority family's attempts to meet the basic needs of its members (i.e., adequate nutrition and health care, housing and shelter, personal safety, developmentally appropriate opportunities for acquiring and displaying cognitive, personal, and social competencies) are increasingly threatened. Low-income families have fewer childrearing resources than do middle-income families; and the resources they do have are often under greater strain (Spencer, 1983; McLoyd, 1990). To be sure, there are many urban minority families who devote great proportions of their time, energy, and resources (both economic and psychological) to creating safe, stable oases of family life, and they thereby manage to send healthy, well-fed, rested, and motivated children to school each day. But there is an increasingly larger segment of these families for whom such successful coping is fleeting at best.

With chronically high rates of unemployment and underemployment in many urban communities, families must creatively garner and manage limited financial resources to pay the higher price for maintaining inner city households. Groceries, clothing, housing, insurance of all types, if available, are more expensive than comparable commodities in other locations. A lack of safe, reliable, and affordable transportation means that even getting out to those areas, where higher quality, more affordable goods and commodities are in ready supply, is not so feasible. Consequently, low-income, urban families must commit larger proportions of their time, energy, and funds to meeting basic needs. When families are socially isolated, or when these same concerns overwhelm their social networks and communities of support (e.g., extended family), resources are further limited. Nevertheless, the majority of these ethnic minority families maintain high educational aspirations for

their children, even though they may lack the means to act upon them.

Parents' beliefs about their own role versus the role of the formal educational community (specifically classroom teachers) in affecting their children's schooling outcomes must also be considered. Parents' beliefs and knowledge about schools and schooling are shaped by their experiences. For some groups of parents, contact with the school usually occurs only under negative circumstances. Parents have had the experience, even at the preschool level, of being summoned to school because of their child's failure in some area of classroom/school performance. Even first time parents, whose child is nearing school age, can have negative perceptions of what happens in school. A child's school entry may stir recollections of the parent's own negative experiences in school. In addition, the mass media are rife with reports of how schools fail children from poor, urban, and ethnic minority group backgrounds. As a result of these past and present experiences, a great deal of distrust and confusion may exist between families and schools that make it difficult to nurture a bond between child and teacher, especially at the point of the home-to-school transition (Comer, 1988; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990).

### ETHNIC MINORITY FAMILIES AND THE SCHOOL

The effects of continuities and discontinuities between family and school on children's school achievement have been critically examined by Tharp (1989). Tharp (1989) observes that there are some students whose culture of birth prepares them for learning in school on their own; there is a high level of cultural compatibility between home and school. Other students must be taught by the school, because if they don't learn academic skills in school, they will not learn such skills in any other setting. Tharp (1989) argues that there are universalistic teaching/learning strategies that are useful for all students at this time in North American history. The features identified include varied activity settings, language development activities, varied sensory modalities in instruction, responsive instructional conversations, and a respectful and accommodating sensitivity to students' background knowledge, experience, values, and tastes. The implementation or application of these strategies must be conditioned by the natal culture of the students.



### **Ethnic Diversity**

The diversity of ethnicity represented in many urban school districts and their classrooms adds to the complexity of the teaching task. Implementing strategies that are sensitive to features of students' natal cultures will undoubtedly pose a great challenge. Just a moment of reflection will illustrate that the conventional classifications used in the U.S. to denote racial minorities encompass groups that are ethnically diverse. The term *Hispanic* is used to denote a U.S. minority group that includes U.S. residents of Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Central and South American origin or ancestry, who while sharing a common language base, are ethnically different and have distinct histories and experiences in the United States. The Asian American category, including U.S. residents of Filipino, Pacific Islander, Japanese, Chinese, Laotian, Thai, and Asian Indian origin or ancestry, is similarly diverse in ethnic and demographic backgrounds. Native Americans and Alaskan Natives comprise a smaller numerical minority but encompass great cultural heterogeneity, with over 500 tribes or nations and 200 languages (LaFromboise, 1988). There is ethnic diversity to be found among African Americans as well. Although the vast majority of African Americans are descendants of the Africans brought forcibly to the United States under the institution of slavery, some have emigrated from Caribbean cultures; others, like Nigerian Americans, are first generation Americans whose families recently immigrated to the United States.

### **School Achievement of Ethnic Groups**

There is no single minority experience; hence, it is important that adequate data be collected from representative samples and made available for analyses in order to better understand the issues as they pertain to particular groups. It is not only the cultures that differ between minority group students and the majority culture. The different ethnic minority students belong to cultures of origin with different economic and sociopolitical histories. Students from different minority groups may differ along dimensions of class and race, as well as in cultural dynamics; these differences also occur among students seen as belonging to the same "racial" minority group. Moreover, the effects of gender may qualify the relation of race and socioeconomic status to the educational achievements of minority students within a given ethnic group (see Hare, 1985; Scott-Jones & Clark, 1986).

The experience of ethnic minorities in American schools is

notably different from one group to the next (Phenice et al., 1986; Tharp, 1989). Several scholars have presented detailed discussions of the family-school interface for various ethnic minority groups (e.g., Phenice et al., 1986; *Harvard Educational Review*, 1988; Hidalgo, 1992; Siu, 1992; Slaughter-DeFoe, Nakagawa, Takanishi, & Johnson, 1990). To briefly summarize, the general conclusions of this literature is that for certain Asian American groups (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and some Southeast Asian immigrant groups) the interface between home and school is not detrimental to academic achievement. Asian students from these ethnic minority groups have succeeded in U.S. schools for many decades and continue to do so, despite ethnic discrimination. They tend to equal or exceed the performance of White middle-class students on most indicators of desired academic outcomes.

In contrast, most other groups of ethnic minority students, especially those who are members of what Ogbu (1978, 1986) has termed involuntary or caste-like minority groups, do not fare well in North American schools. African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans, by and large, have not achieved their full potential in school. The school achievement of nearly all Native American groups is lower than that of the dominant cultural majority (Tharp, 1989). While the public school enrollment of other minority groups increased from 1976 to 1986, the enrollment of Native Americans in elementary and secondary education had actually declined by 3 percent during the same time (National Center for Education Statistics, 1991). In 1988, African American, American Indian, and Hispanic eighth-graders were about twice as likely to have multiple educational risk factors associated with family backgrounds than were White and Asian American students (National Center for Education Statistics, 1991).

With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Boykin, 1986; Henderson & Washington, 1975), the dominant approach to understanding the academic performance of ethnic and racial minority children has been to explain differences between majority and ethnic minority children in terms of deficiencies in the family or home environment. From this perspective the tendency is to look at what the family is doing wrong or failing to do as compared to what mainstream majority group families do to foster values and skills that will be useful to their children in school.

Prevailing societal stereotypes predict educational excellence for Asian Americans based on the perceived shared cultural/familial values that facilitate their acculturation and achievement within American society

(Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Much of the research conducted on Asian Americans from 1970 through 1988 is focused on Japanese Americans and has adopted this perspective (Slaughter-Defoe et al., 1990). The Japanese culture is described as demanding politeness, respect for authority, high in-group unity, duty to community, and high achievement orientation— all traits acceptable to middle-class White Americans.

Asian Americans represent a diverse population. Sharp differences exist within this group in terms of cultural norms, historic origins, and social and economic status. The success story of Asian American educational achievement in this country cannot be attributed solely to family values and practices. Cultural and family practices and values must be considered in their historical interaction with social factors. Socioeconomic status correlates with high achievement for Asian Americans just as it does for all other Americans. For example, Siu (1992) notes that much of the high educational achievement for current Chinese Americans is due to immigration policies that favored more educated, upper-class Chinese immigrants such as entrepreneurs and professionals. These families, both U.S. born and new immigrants, tend to have higher incomes and more education than the national average and to live outside of Chinatowns. Chinese American students whose parents were manual or service workers, lacked a high school diploma from the homeland or the U.S., and who live in Chinatowns, tend to do less well in school. Indeed, when the educational achievement of children of Vietnamese and Laotian immigrant families is examined, groups that have lower socioeconomic backgrounds, the situation is more comparable to that of African Americans, Mexican Americans, or Puerto Ricans (Siu, 1992).

Family values and attitudes toward schooling must be examined from a cultural/ecological perspective. In other words, the view of families as self-contained units unaffected by the contexts of the community and larger society in which they must function is myopic. The interface between ethnic minority families and the school can be best understood in the context of their overall historical, social, political, and economic experiences. As Phenice et al., have pointed out:

Distinctive views of education by ethnic groups may explain why certain groups respond differently to schooling. Emphasis on ethnicity and school success, however, should not obscure other processes of

differentiation that have little to do with values and much to do with the discrimination and exclusion in education which characterizes the interface between home and school for ethnic minority families (1986, p.134).

Minority achievement cannot be understood when taken out of the context of the status of minorities in the United States. John Ogbu (1978) has offered an analysis of how racial stratification and the discriminatory practices it supports can affect minority school performance. All minority groups have to cope with cultural conflict and discrimination based upon their differentness. The manner in which the groups came to their minority status and the psychocultural means for coping with this status, however, may differ. In part because of their ease of identification, African Americans, for example, cannot be absorbed readily into the mainstream of a race-caste society. For Ogbu, "The caste system which relegates Blacks to the pariah status and excludes them from full social and technoeconomic participation in adult life determines Black economic status; childrearing practices; and linguistic, cognitive, and motivational skills. The latter, in turn, influence Black school performance more directly" (1978, p. 369).

Caste-like, subordinate minority groups are those whose incorporation into the society occurred involuntarily through forcible enslavement, conquest, or incorporation of territory. These are groups in the United States for whom school achievement rarely translates into the economic and other societal rewards commensurate with those gained by Whites with equivalent schooling (Phenice et al., 1986). In almost every aspect of the political, economic and social orders, opportunity and rewards for equal effort are lower for the lower caste members. In the presence of this differential in the opportunity and reward structure, African Americans and other low status ethnic minorities may respond with reduced or less than optimal effort. According to Ogbu, this is particularly obvious in school learning situations and may contribute to the depressed achievement so often seen in these groups. Because minority students become aware that the post-school world does not reward equally for equal effort in school, the effort they invest in school may be reduced.

Ogbu's analyses of the influence of racial stratification and discriminatory practices on the school performance of minority groups can be applied to several U. S. ethnic minority groups. In the remainder

of my discussion of these issues I will focus, however, on only one caste-like, subordinate minority group in the United States as identified by Ogbu's analyses: African Americans.

### AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES AND SCHOOL

Most African American children are growing up and developing in communities that are culturally different from the culture of the broader society (Boykin, 1986; Henderson & Washington, 1975; Ogbu, 1987). The cultural roots of these communities, originating in the societies of Western Africa, provide the basis for understanding many of the primary cultural differences between African American children and their Euro-American counterparts. Importantly, however, the conditions under which Africans were transplanted to American soil differ greatly from those experienced by Europeans and the more recent non-European immigrants. Indeed, the socio-historical context of African Americans' "cultivation" on American soil is characterized by continual and endemic devaluation. The history of brutal enslavement, segregation, and job ceilings; the continuing socioeconomic disadvantages and their consequent problems, and the general stigmatization, all visit classrooms with African American students.

It is acknowledged that every child brings a prior history of learning to the classroom. This prior history includes social, behavioral, affective, and cognitive characteristics that may serve as risk factors or protective mechanisms depending on the reaction they evoke in that setting. For African Americans, these entry characteristics are thought to include a preference for people-oriented situations, and a highly affective orientation toward ideas, people, and things (Shade, 1982).

For example, many African Americans participate in a kinship network that is a multigenerational network of relatives (e.g., Harrison et al., 1990). As members of this network, children are socialized to orient toward interpersonal relatedness, to respond to the authority of a dominant family member, and to recognize collective responsibility. Combined with the emphasis on giving and receiving support within the network, the caregiver-child relationship within African American families encourages the child to seek help while moving toward independence (Aschenbrenner, 1973; Tolson & Wilson, 1990). It has been reported that group-oriented cultures, such as the African American

culture (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987), tend to value collective efforts more than competition as viable strategies in goal-oriented situations (Boykin, 1986; Tolson & Wilson, 1990).

A substantial body of literature exists that associates positive achievement outcomes with African American socialization patterns (e.g., Shade, 1978). Researchers have found that African American children who do well in school have parents who are responsive to their help seeking and encourage an active coping style (Garnezy, 1983; Holliday, 1985; Shade, 1978). An active coping style is characterized by initiating change and manipulating the environment to produce and employ resources that can help overcome obstacles to the achievement of personal goals and desired outcomes. Children who evidence an active coping style in problem-solving situations tend to initiate solutions to problems and demonstrate competence in terms of handling various situations themselves.

Despite these culturally-based adaptive strengths and resilience that have been noted as supportive of achievement, the transition to formal schooling has difficult, and at times, even outright perilous, for African Americans. Unlike other groups in this country, African Americans frequently have had to risk their very lives to have access to educational opportunities and resources from which they were legally barred. African Americans have made tremendous gains in educational attainment over the last half of this century. The report, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Jaynes & Williams, 1989), commissioned by the National Research Council, indicates that the median level of educational attainment for African American men rose from 6.2 years of schooling completed in 1940 to 12.6 years of schooling completed in 1980.

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) surveys also indicate achievement gains by African American students at the elementary and secondary levels. Indeed, in the subject areas of reading and mathematics, African American students have shown more rapid improvement than their White counterparts over the past two decades (National Center for Education Statistics, 1991). Although the Black/White performance gap has been narrowed, significant differences continue to exist in each content area measured. Moreover, the gains made by African American students have been primarily in terms of improved performance levels at the lower proficiency levels in reading, mathematics and science. Thus, although African Americans are more



likely than ever before to complete 12 years of schooling, they are more likely than their White counterparts to spend this time in curricular programs that emphasize basic skills remediation, as opposed to the acquisition of advanced knowledge and skills that are demanded in what is now an information and service-based economy and labor market (Simmons & Grady, 1990; Simmons, 1987).

The gravity of the educational crisis for African Americans is brought into sharper focus when the performance of African American males is considered apart from their female counterparts. There has been little systematic treatment of the interactive effects of race and sex in analyses of educational equity. Yet, recent events involving single-sex and single-race academies allow us to witness the tension between sex and race equity concerns in schooling practices. To gain a deeper appreciation for the difference that gender makes in issues of race equity it is useful to examine the educational attainment and the experiences of African American females and African American males in schools.

### THE SCHOOLING OF AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALES AND MALES

African American males are more likely than African American females, or than White males and females, to be performing one or more years below grade level. African American males are more likely to be retained in grade, assigned to the lowest ability tracks, and judged inaccurately by their teachers than are students of any other race/gender group (Irvine, 1990). At all educational levels, African American females tend to meet or exceed the attainment level of African American males. White females, however, tend to achieve fewer years of schooling than do White males (Coleman-Burns, 1989).

In terms of postsecondary educational attainment, the declines noted are more marked for African American males than for African American females (Carter & Wilson, 1989). African American males are far outnumbered by African American females on college campuses (Moses, 1989). It may be that African American males, themselves, are aware of their precarious claim to postsecondary educational opportunities. Although studies of elementary school children (e.g., Hare, 1985) suggest that African American males, like White males, reveal lower levels of general anxiety than their same-race female counterparts,



this pattern may not continue through high school and college. A recent study of African American high school and college students' experiences with, and attitudes toward, standardized testing (Henry, Bryson, & Henry, 1989) indicated that African American males to report more anxiety than African American females while taking standardized tests. Also, in comparison to their female counterparts, African American males reported receiving less encouragement to prepare for standardized tests and less information regarding the impact of these tests on educational participation.

### Social Science Explanations of the Gender Disparity

Because this pattern is not reflective of "mainstream" experience, its association with the African American community encouraged a focus on family functioning as the crucible of African American males' school failure (Coleman-Burns, 1989). There appears to be no firm support for the notion that African American parents encourage their daughters' education at their sons' expense (Smith, 1982). Some social scientists have attributed African American males' educational shortcomings to a lack of parental expectations and support (see Nelson-Le Gall, 1992b; Scott-Jones & Clark, 1986, for a more detailed discussion). The bulk of the research, however, indicates that African American families are less likely to use gender as a basis for educational and occupational role aspirations than is the case in the dominant American culture (Coleman-Burns, 1989; Nelson-Le Gall, 1992b). African American family functioning has been characterized by a greater degree of egalitarianism between male and female sex roles than have White families (Scanzoni, 1977; Scott-Jones & Nelson-Le Gall, 1986). African American children of both sexes are socialized for assertiveness, self-confidence, independence, and achievement (Lewis, 1975; Scott-Jones & Nelson-Le Gall, 1986).

Thus, when it comes to schooling outcomes African American males do not appear to hold any real advantage over African American females. The educational inequities experienced by African American males result in a loss and waste of human capital to the African American community and to the nation at large, and have caused many educators and African American community leaders to propose sex and race segregated schooling for African American males as an extreme solution to the problem (see Ascher, 1991; *Negro Educational Review*, 1992, for a discussion of issues and survey of school programs concerning African

American males). In contrast, African American females' lots are assumed to be much better and they are often perceived to benefit at African American males' expense in organized programs to improve the educational and economic opportunities and outcomes of African Americans.

Sex equity issues for minority groups need to be considered within a well articulated theoretical framework that takes into account the historical and cultural context of the group. African Americans, who are descendants of the enslaved Africans, were forced into a caste status that presented legal barriers to economic, educational, and political opportunity. African American women were used to perform a variety of domestic chores and even hard labor along with African American men. Being regarded as property, enslaved African Americans had no legal claim to the fruits of their labor. Indeed, even the reproductive and nurturing activities of African American women were performed for the economic interests of slave masters. The laws and policies institutionalized during the Post-Reconstruction period served to exclude African American men from the labor force, and relegate African American women to menial labor, right through the first half of the 20th century (Taylor & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1989).

As Patricia Coleman-Burns has noted (1989), however, African American families and communities have placed a degree of emphasis on education for African American women that appears to be unprecedented relative to any similarly oppressed group. The priority of education for women in the African American community has several explanations. Historically, among Whites, the child's social status was determined by that of the father; for African Americans, the child's was determined by the mother. Hence, the education of the mother was viewed as crucial in raising the status of the child. Also, the impact of educational level on employment opportunities was more favorable for African American women than for African American men. The educational level of the African American male did not seem to significantly change his access to more prestigious and lucrative employment. For African American women, the type of employment she could gain beyond being a domestic in private homes was greater if she had more schooling (Coleman-Burns, 1989).

### **The "Gendered" Experience of Schooling**

It has been well-documented that outcomes of schooling differ

systematically across different race and sex groupings of students (Hare, 1985; Trent, 1984). Schools respond to children of varying race and gender groups in systematically different ways. Specifically, the interactions occurring in the classroom between students and teachers contribute in significant ways to the educational experience and outcomes of students. A large body of research (e.g., Byalick & Bershoff, 1974; Dweck, Davidson, Nelson, & Enna, 1978; Grant, 1984; 1985; Irvine, 1990) documents the differences in teachers' interactions with students as a function of the student's race and gender.

Linda Grant noted such differences in her ethnographic study of desegregated first grade classrooms (Grant, 1984; 1985). Grant found that African American females' experiences in school seem to differ from that of other race-gender groups, and that the differences cannot easily be predicted by extrapolating from research studies of females or African Americans. Grant found that teachers rated African American females' academic skills and performance more favorably than that of African American males, lower than that of White females, and lower but most similarly to White males in the classroom. Teachers, however, made an important distinction in their assessments of African American females and White males. Teachers noted that the White males were immature and expected stronger academic performances as they matured. In contrast, teachers did not identify any African American females as immature, nor indicate that the African American girls might show stronger academic performances in the future (Grant, 1984).

Grant also found that teachers, especially White teachers, gave less attention to academic criteria when assessing African American females' abilities than they did for any other groups. African American girls received average to greater than average amounts of praise from the teacher in the classroom, and always more than African American boys. African American males received the most criticism and the least praise in the classroom. The praise given to African American girls, however, was more often than not for nonacademic behavior. When praise was given for academic work, teachers were more likely to give African American students qualified praise (e.g., telling a student that a completed work sheet was "almost" good enough to display).

Although teachers called on African American girls more than any other group to help classmates with nonacademic tasks, when it came to reinforcing and recognizing intellectual competence, White females were singled out. Teachers gave White girls special assignments implying

competence, such as tutoring another child, more often than they gave such high responsibility tasks to African American girls or to boys of either race. It is interesting to note that the pattern of student-teacher interaction experienced by African American girls in these classrooms is relatively parallel to the debilitating pattern of treatment observed for White girls in research on all-White elementary classrooms (Dweck et al., 1978).

It appears that African American girls may have less contact than White girls with the classroom teacher. White girls initiated contact with the teacher most often, prolonging questions into chats about personal issues. These chats can be beneficial to students because they help develop and display verbal interaction skills as well as enhance social comfort in the classroom as a result of the personal bond formed between student and teacher (Grant, 1985). Grant found that African American girls contacted the teacher only when necessary. Their contacts with the teacher were briefer, more task-related, and more often on behalf of a peer than was the case for White girls. Males, especially African American males, had few contacts of this sort with teachers.

In the desegregated classrooms Grant studied, African American girls were the most frequent recipients of racist and sexist remarks. These remarks were generally made by White males after the teacher had praised the African American girls' academic performance. These remarks served to emphasize the lower status of African American females.

In sum, although it is possible to document that African American females and African American males are differentially advantaged or disadvantaged with respect to certain educational opportunities and outcomes, it does not seem to be a constructive approach to the very real problem of securing educational equity for descendants of enslaved African Americans. It is far more important to take into account that both African American males and females experience undue discrimination and isolation, albeit for different reasons, with a similar outcome—poor academic achievement.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to outline a reformulation of the perspective from which we address the relationship between urban schools and minority families. If we change the way we think about poor, ethnic minority groups in this country we will most likely ask different

questions and look for different phenomena. We will undoubtedly find the issues and problems to be more complex, and less situated in individual persons, families, or ethnic groups, or societal institutions, but more situated in relations (both historical and contemporaneous) between these constituents.

It is not uncommon when we think about the interface of family and school as developmental contexts to ignore the potential for bidirectional influence between them. Not only does the influence of the family have the potential to be felt in school, but the influence of school has the potential to be carried back home into the families of students, and, indeed, is felt across generations.

Because the cost of conflictual relations between family and school is not confined solely to the individual student, we will need a multilayered approach; because of the great diversity of families within and between minority groups we will need also a differentiated approach. We need to build a richly descriptive and process-oriented database on the cognitive, linguistic and communication, social, and motivational/affective variables existing in ethnic minority cultures that pattern the construction, dissemination, and utilization of knowledge (e.g., Boykin, 1986; Shade, 1982; Tharp, 1989). For this, we will need more qualitative descriptive studies of the common and distinctive strengths of poor, urban, minority children and their families and communities in order to identify a variety of effective practices that help students succeed in school.

In order to understand parental roles as teachers we need to know what parents are trying to teach and why. We need answers to such questions as: How do parents judge their child's ability? Do they use the same criteria as schools? If they don't, is it because they reject school criteria or because they are not familiar with them? What are parents' theories about ability? Do they see the child's ability as fixed and unchanging (e.g., children's capacity to learn comes in different types—"pint", "quart", "gallon") or—is it changeable, and ever increasing? What outcomes are valued and seen as important (i.e., perception that failing to achieve the outcomes would adversely affect children's futures), and which are also problematic (i.e., difficult to achieve)? What are the means to these ends—what do parents see as their role in influencing their children's developmental outcomes? Do parents hold a timetable for achieving them?

Classroom teaching styles can be adapted to make them more

compatible with the entry characteristics and competencies of poor, ethnic minority children. Teachers and other school personnel need to be familiar with the developmental tasks children and their families face and the culturally based competencies they apply to meet them. Teachers need access to preservice and inservice training that provides information about the native cultural styles of their students.

For example, the adaptive verbal interaction skills that are often socialized in the context of African American families and communities have been emphasized by several researchers (e.g., Brice-Heath, 1989; Hale-Benson, 1986; Shade, 1982). Others have noted the behavioral vibrancy, psychological affinity for stimulus change and intensity, and highly sophisticated emotionally expressive styles that characterize African American children's home environments and interpersonal interactions in their communities (Boykin, 1986; Rotheram-Borus & Phinney, 1990). When efforts are made to suppress these expressive styles in the classroom, negative behavioral outcomes that undermine the child's school performance are usually the result. In contrast, when the home-school discontinuities along these dimensions are minimized by organizing academic tasks so that they afford greater stimulus change and a more active, participatory approach from the child, motivation and task performance is improved (Boykin & Allen, 1988; Tharp, 1989).

In conclusion, efforts by racial and ethnic minorities to have their cultural distinctiveness acknowledged and responded to in the school environment shows concern that their cultures not be devalued or lost in the process of formal schooling. In responding to these concerns we must give serious consideration to the "cultural compatibility" hypothesis (Ogbu, 1986; Tharp, 1989). Recent thinking (see Boykin, 1986; Delpit, 1988; McCarthy, 1988; Tharp, 1989) about the compatibility between educational practices as they exist currently in schools and the knowledge transmission and acquisition practices that exist in specific ethnic cultures suggests that this issue is not adequately addressed by assuming that the cultural practices of the ethnic minority students can be transplanted simply into the instructional curriculum and the teaching and learning materials.

Thus, we need to advance from simple questions of whether such individual and psychocultural variations make a difference to more pointed questions such as: What specific features of the student's cultural background are critical for incorporating in formal educational settings and educational practices in order to produce and maintain optimal



learning? What are the common as well as distinctive features of learning tasks and learning environments that typically occur in formal educational (i.e., schools) and in the students' non-school contexts? How, and how well, can these different, specific practices be implemented in school settings?

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**REINVENTING URBAN EDUCATION:  
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE  
OF MULTICULTURALISM**



**NEW CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENTS:  
AN INVESTIGATIVE SURVEY OF  
NEW YORK CITY'S COMMUNITY SCHOOL  
DISTRICTS' RESPONSE TO THE  
CHANCELLOR'S ACTION PLAN FOR  
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION**

**Pamela M. Crowley and María L. García**

**INTRODUCTION**

Within the past five years, the issue of multiculturalism has become a heated one. The debate is argued within both social and political contexts. Yet, the real discussion needs to deal with the changing meaning of education in the United States. When one looks at multiculturalism within the context of education itself, no one knows what education that is multicultural<sup>1</sup> actually looks like in practice.

There is no shared definition of education that is multicultural. As

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the two terms, "multicultural education" and "education that is multicultural" are used interchangeably. The authors, however, prefer the latter term, which denotes a total change, not just curricular, within the educational environment.

a result, individual school districts have elected varying definitions, reflected primarily in curricular shifts. Several school districts in major U.S. cities have attempted to implement an educational program that is multicultural. Cities such as Portland, Omaha, and Atlanta have initiated reforms in response to a call for multicultural education. Since these programs have primarily focused on making changes in the content of what is taught, curricular changes have been at the center of attention.

New York City is the largest urban public school district in the United States. Like other urban areas, it has begun efforts to provide education that is multicultural to its one million students. New York City's plan for implementing education that is multicultural is more comprehensive than other districts' curricular efforts, however; it includes changes in all aspects of the school environment. This paper details the beginning steps in the process undertaken by New York City to implement and provide for its students an education that is multicultural.

## THE NEW YORK POLICY

### Background

*The Policy on Multicultural Education and Promotion of Positive Intergroup Relations* (New York City Board of Education, 1989) and *An Action Plan for Multicultural Education* (New York City Board of Education, 1991) have important implications and will have important consequences for all sectors of the New York City Public Schools. Its directives and the process of implementing them at all levels (classroom, school, and district) will affect students, parents, teachers, administrators, and others who work in the education arena. Thus, it is important to document this process and its effect. This research examines the curriculum development process at the school district level in order to describe the efforts being undertaken to implement this policy.

On November 15, 1989, the New York City Board of Education formally adopted the *Statement of Policy on Multicultural Education and Promotion of Positive Intergroup Relations*. In addition to this statement of policy (hereafter referred to as the Multicultural Policy or the Policy), the Board included a Statement of Mission. Implicit in the text of both the Multicultural Policy and the Statement of Mission is the idea that the Board acknowledges and recognizes that an education that is multicultural must be an integral part of all aspects (programs and policies) of public

school operation in New York City.

In February 1989, the NYC Board accepted a report which "identified the need for a comprehensive multicultural education program to help foster positive intergroup relations and to eliminate bias of all forms" (NYC Board of Education, 1991, p. 7). The Multicultural Policy has as its predecessor, the Policy for Intergroup Relations (adopted in 1985). This was essentially a policy directing the Chancellor to eliminate discriminatory practices and enhance the relationships among the various racial and ethnic groups that made up the New York City Public Schools. The Multicultural Policy extends the 1985 Policy so that it clearly includes "discrimination against students, parents, or school personnel on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, gender, age, sexual orientation, and/or handicapping conditions" (NYC Board of Education, 1989, p. 7). This acknowledgment and inclusion of the various groups who comprise the different components of the educational system is rare in any policy statement. The Policy extends the discussion of diversity beyond just the categories of race and ethnicity. To include sexual orientation is a bold move in a school system that educates almost one million students. The fact that the Policy also concerns itself with all aspects of the educational environment, particularly within the context of teaching and learning, makes its efforts and goals commendable.

### Policy Goals

The goals of the Multicultural Policy are outlined in the policy itself as well as in its Statement of Mission that has been rewritten to include an education that is multicultural for its students. The Mission states that through multicultural education, students will:

- Develop the analytical, communication, and social action skills needed to succeed professionally and participate effectively in our democratic society.
- Build an awareness of their own cultural heritage while understanding that no one culture is intrinsically superior to another.
- Become knowledgeable about the history, culture, and contributions of all peoples and nations.

- Understand that all groups have contributed to our common culture and the nation's growth and development.
- Comprehend the existence and consequences of racism, ethnic prejudice, sexism and discrimination based on sexual orientation and physically challenging conditions (NYC Board of Education, 1991, p. 9).

Multicultural education is seen as the vehicle for helping NYC attain its mission for its students, "to provide a comprehensive and equitable education that values all people" (NYC Board of Education, 1991, p. 9). The Policy seeks to have students become cognizant of themselves, other groups, the democratic system, and the prejudicial "isms" that continue to inform the day-to-day workings at both the individual and institutional levels of our nation and world. The key words are comprehensive and equitable. They are primary in the many aspects and areas the Board seeks to touch, influence, and change.

### Policy Strategy

The strategy adoption the Board has for an educational system that is multicultural comes in the *Action Plan for Multicultural Education*. As part of the Policy, the Board, "resolved, that the Chancellor shall submit to the Board a comprehensive multicultural education plan which shall include guidelines and procedures for program, staff and curriculum" (NYC Board of Education, 1991, p. 8). This is a five-year plan that sets goals, objectives, activities, and a time frame, as well as responsibilities by various units to be undertaken by all those involved in educating NYC public school students. The Chancellor's Action Plan identifies the following areas and describes how multicultural education will be incorporated as an ongoing and continual process in the City's schools:

- curriculum development.
- program development.
- professional development.
- technical assistance.
- parental involvement.
- community involvement.
- affirmative action plan.
- program assessment/evaluation.
- bilingual education.

In including the above areas, the Action Plan seeks to make the Policy comprehensive in reaching all sectors of the school system. The Chancellor has coordinated a Central Committee of representatives from all districts and high school superintendencies to interact with a Multicultural Advisory Board, which is composed of various representatives from religious, social, and community organizations. These two groups "will work for the achievement of citywide consistency while at the same time providing community school districts and schools with the freedom to design instructional strategies, curricula, and professional development programs that meet their individual needs" (NYC Board of Education, 1991, p. 5). The Central Committee will have the key lead in helping the individual school districts and high school superintendencies design, develop, and implement multicultural programs at the district and school level, where the impact could be either immense or perfunctory.

#### **Educational Theory Reflected by the Policy**

Key to understanding the assumptions of this policy regarding schools, teaching, and learning is an examination of the specific goals cited in the Policy and the Action Plan. To specify that the curriculum to be developed by districts "must emphasize concepts, skills and content, utilizing the Social Action/Decision Making Approach," suggests a social reconstructionist view of schooling and education with a focus on changing society, not merely "fitting in" or "maintaining the status quo." James Banks, a noted proponent of multicultural education and a specialist in multicultural curriculum designated the *social action approach* as the highest level of multicultural curriculum approaches. The three approaches to curriculum development, identified by Banks, that are the foundation to the social action approach are: the *contributions approach*, which focuses on heroes, holidays, and discrete cultural elements; the *additive approach*, which includes adding to the curriculum content, concepts, themes, and perspectives without changing the basic curricular structure; and the *transformation approach*, which calls for restructuring the curriculum in order to enable students to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspective of diverse ethnic and cultural groups. The social action approach includes all aspects of the transformation approach, with the addition of students making decisions on important social issues and taking action to help resolve those issues. Banks views the "development of decision making and social action skills

as the key goal for multicultural curriculum" (Banks, 1990, p. 24). It should be noted that Banks' model for curriculum integration is really a model for integration of ethnic content. Nevertheless, this same model can readily be applied to other components or aspects of multicultural education. These components would include gender, age, sexual preference, religion, and physically challenged/disability, which are all areas identified in the Chancellor's Action Plan.

Carl Grant describes the social action/decision making approach as "Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist which attempts to prepare students to be citizens able to actualize the egalitarian ideology that is the cornerstone of democracy" (Grant & Sleeter, 1989, p. 212). He suggests the following strategies to develop this approach in classroom curricula: (1) model and celebrate diversity and equal opportunity, (2) practice democracy, (3) analyze students' own social inequalities and (4) encourage social action.

The Board, in mandating the social action/decision making approach, clearly hopes to have teachers look at curriculum in a new way. Social action, the most difficult approach, calls for a restructuring of the curriculum. This is a big order. The Policy calls for curricula to be created if none satisfies the criteria outlined. This curriculum development will take place at the Central Board, district, and school levels.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY

### Research Questions

Many school districts have been able to integrate their curriculum using the contributions and/or additive approaches, but rarely have they been able to integrate the curriculum with a social action/decision making approach. The research reported here attempted to determine whether any Community School Districts (CSD) within the New York City Board of Education have been able to achieve this level of integration and thereby respond to the Chancellor's call for action. We surveyed 32 elementary (K-8) school districts in order to determine whether the content of their curriculum had been integrated with a social action/decision making instructional approach. We also attempted to investigate the process undertaken by these school districts.

Having worked in the area of staff development involving multicultural education with teachers and administrators at the classroom

and district level, we formulated several hypotheses regarding possible findings from the data. For example, it was expected that district Multicultural Coordinators would have additional professional responsibilities that would impact on the time that could be allotted to multicultural education. From prior experiences in the development of curriculum that is multicultural, we postulated that the perspectives that would be most integrated in new district curricula would be ethnicity and race. It was thought that few districts had begun to integrate curriculum with the perspectives of gender, age, and sexual preference. Perhaps most important in the Action Plan and in the eventual implementation of curriculum at the classroom level was the directive for a social action/decision making approach, however, we hypothesized that few, if any, districts would have developed and actually implemented this approach in the classroom.

### Survey Design

Since the questionnaire designed and developed by the researchers was to help determine the extent to which CSDs had addressed the Action Plan or Policy in its curriculum integration, many of the questions and the language of the questionnaire itself were taken directly from the Action Plan. The questionnaire was purposefully developed with the Multicultural Coordinator in mind.

The questionnaire consisted of four sections: 1) *Demographic Information*; 2) *Organizing for Education That Is Multicultural*; 3) *Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural*; and 4) *Staff Development*. Each sought specific information from the respondents.

It was thought that in order to better understand each respondent, some general background information was needed concerning their professional experience. Thus, the first section, *Demographic Information*, was designed to elicit information concerning the responsibilities of each coordinator and the time allotted to issues of curriculum that are multicultural.

In the next section, *Organizing for Education That Is Multicultural*, the researchers requested information about the extent to which the district had been implementing multicultural education prior to the Chancellor's Action Plan. For example, one of the questions in this section was: "When did the district begin its multicultural education efforts?"

The third section, *Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural*,



was specifically designed to determine whether the district had attempted to develop curriculum that is multicultural. Furthermore, the researchers developed questions to determine at which level (utilizing Banks' levels of approaches) each district was operating in terms of curriculum development.

The final section, *Staff Development*, was designed to determine what staff development efforts each individual district had undertaken in the area of education that is multicultural, since the Policy itself made staff development an integral part. According to the Policy,

staff development which emphasizes the philosophy, attitudes, skills, knowledge, practices and procedures essential to a sound program of multicultural education is to be provided on a continuous, consistent basis for all staff involved in the education process. There must be multicultural staff recruitment and development to aide in the implementation of this policy. (NYC Board of Education, 1989, p. 8)

### Survey Findings

Of the 32 Multicultural Education Coordinators surveyed, 11 questionnaires were returned, producing a response rate of 34 percent. A response was received from CSDs in all boroughs except the borough of Staten Island, with the predominant number of responses (36 percent) from Manhattan and Brooklyn. Two questionnaires were received from Queens, and one from the Bronx. Following is a preliminary report of the survey findings, with a discussion of possible implications that come from the descriptions and profiles which emerged.

**Demographic Information.** The majority of the respondents were female (nine females; one male; and one non-identified). The average length of time the coordinators worked for the New York City Board of Education was 19.6 years. Four respondents identified themselves as White; one, Hispanic; one, African American; one, Irish American; one, African American Hispanic; one, White Italian; and two respondents did not answer the question. During their tenure, they worked in a variety of positions in the New York Public Schools, ranging from classroom teachers, school administrators, and various district level positions. For example, all of the respondents worked as classroom teachers, and two served as assistant principals. Others had been coordinators/directors of varying programs at the district level (see Table 1). All had at least one

other responsibility in addition to being Multicultural Coordinator (see Table 2). Time in their present position as Multicultural Coordinator ranged from six months to more than three years, with an average time of almost one and one-half years. In response to the question, "How long have you held the position of Multicultural Coordinator?", one respondent replied "Too long," a response that engenders different emotional connotations.

**Table 1**

**Previous New York City Public School Positions  
Held by Multicultural Coordinators**

| <u>Teachers</u>                       |    | <u>School Administration</u>                          |   |
|---------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Elementary Teacher                    | 10 | Assistant Principal                                   | 2 |
| Bilingual Teacher                     | 1  | Interim Acting Principal                              | 1 |
| ESL Teacher                           | 1  |                                                       |   |
| Reading Teacher                       | 1  |                                                       |   |
| Teacher of Homebound                  | 1  |                                                       |   |
| <u>Staff/Professional Development</u> |    | <u>District Level Positions</u>                       |   |
| Director of Paraprofessionals         | 1  | Testing Coordinator                                   | 1 |
| Facilitator of School Improvement     | 3  | Social Studies Coordinator                            | 1 |
| Staff Developer                       | 3  | Reading Recovery Coordinator                          | 1 |
| Coordinator of Staff Development      | 1  | Coordinator, Curriculum & Instruction                 | 1 |
|                                       |    | Bilingual Director                                    | 1 |
|                                       |    | Magnet School Coordinator                             | 1 |
|                                       |    | Director of Math/Social Studies                       | 1 |
|                                       |    | Language Coordinator                                  | 1 |
|                                       |    | Assistant District Administrator of Special Education | 1 |
| <u>Other</u>                          |    | Coordinator                                           | 1 |
| Speech Pathologist                    | 1  |                                                       |   |
| Mentor/Teacher                        | 1  |                                                       |   |
| State Science Mentor                  | 1  |                                                       |   |
| Monitor                               | 1  |                                                       |   |
| SBM/SDM Liaison                       | 1  |                                                       |   |
| Parent Liaison                        | 1  |                                                       |   |

**Table 2****Concurrent Positions Held by Multicultural Coordinators**

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|                                             |   |
|---------------------------------------------|---|
| Bilingual/ESL Director                      | 2 |
| ESL Coordinator                             | 1 |
| Magnet School Coordinator                   | 1 |
| Coordinator of Cultural Programs            | 1 |
| Director of Professional Development        | 2 |
| Math/Social Studies Coordinator             | 2 |
| Director of Middle School Programs          | 1 |
| Reading Recovery/Social Studies Coordinator | 1 |
| SBM/SDM Liaison                             | 1 |
| Parent Liaison                              | 1 |

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The respondents were asked to identify both positive and negative aspects of their position as Multicultural Coordinator (see Table 3). In analyzing the data, the following categories were developed to reflect the positive aspects of this position:

- Personal and Professional Growth.
- Interaction with Staff, Parents, and Students.
- Development of Sensitivity, Awareness in Others.

These categories were developed for the negative aspects of the position:

- Time.
- Funding.
- Resources (training and information).
- Resistance.

In identifying the positive aspects of their position, several coordinators saw it as an opportunity to fulfill both personal and professional needs. Concerns consistently identified that as a negative aspect of their position were time and lack of monetary resources or funding for program implementation.

**Table 3**

**Positive and Negative Aspects of Having  
the Position of District Multicultural Coordinator**

| <i>POSITIVE ASPECTS</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>NEGATIVE ASPECTS</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>Personal/Professional Growth</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- opportunity for innovation</li> <li>- learning experience</li> <li>- interest</li> <li>- fulfillment of need</li> <li>- opportunity for creativity and innovation</li> <li>- opportunity for pro-social education</li> <li>- opportunity to learn about multicultural education and to participate in related meetings and workshops</li> <li>- the right to attend excellent meetings</li> <li>- the opportunity to develop meaningful programs</li> <li>- access to large numbers of important materials and facilities</li> </ul> | <u>Time</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- not enough time overall</li> <li>- not given enough time to really become knowledgeable</li> <li>- responsibility for this initiative in addition to other district duties</li> <li>- time conflicts with attending meetings outside district</li> </ul> |
| <u>Interaction with Parents, Staff and Students</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- putting together a cadre of committed staff</li> <li>- successfully implementing a staff/parent initiative in this area</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <u>Funding</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of funding</li> <li>- slow implementation (no funds to bring to district)</li> <li>- lack of money for supplies</li> </ul>                                                                                                                       |
| <u>Development of Sensitivity, Awareness in Others</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- planting seeds of harmony and understanding through staff development, curriculum development, and parent workshops</li> <li>- establishing a multicultural museum</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <u>Resources (Training and Information)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- very few resources</li> <li>- no training or background before assuming position</li> <li>- difficulty of information dissemination</li> </ul>                                                                           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <u>Resistance</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- verbal abuse from angry radicals who peddle their hate in the name of multiculturalism</li> <li>- resistance of staff</li> <li>- disrespect and ignorance on the part of too many educators</li> <li>- too much sabotage</li> </ul>                |

*Organizing for Education That Is Multicultural.* In the second section, most respondents (six) indicated that their district had begun its multicultural efforts prior to the 1989-90 school year, a year before the Action Plan was issued. Another district began its efforts in the 1989-90 school year. While two other districts started in the 1990-91 school year, the remaining two indicated that their district began its efforts in the 1991-92 school year. Of the latter two, one indicated that while the district began its efforts during the 1991-92 school year, individual schools within the district had actually begun its efforts in 1989-90 (two years prior to the district's initiating any efforts in multicultural education).

All respondents indicated that their district had a multicultural advisory committee. When asked to identify the district's committee representation, the numbers of people that made up the committee ranged from fourteen to twenty-eight members, with an average of twenty-three members. Of the groups represented on the committee, teachers were the largest constituency in six of the districts. For the remaining five, district level personnel and/or administrators made up the largest number of representatives. Four of the advisory boards had no student members. And of those five districts that did have student representation, it ranged from only one to three members. Five of the advisory boards had no representatives from community-based organizations or post-secondary institutions. All except one had at least one parent on the advisory board. All but one of the boards had at least one Community School Board member as a representative.

All of these committees were engaged in professional development activities (see Table 4). Eight committees also carried out activities that focused on parental involvement. In the area of program assessment and evaluation, eight committees specified that they had undertaken activities in this area, and seven reported having activities in the areas of program development and curriculum development. Five districts indicated that activities had taken place in the areas of community involvement, and four in bilingual education. Interestingly enough, no community school district noted having initiated any activities in the area of affirmative action.

**Table 4****Activities of District Level Multicultural Advisory Committees**

| Activities                    | Number of Districts Engaged in Activity |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Curriculum Development        | 7                                       |
| Affirmative Action            | 0                                       |
| Bilingual Education           | 4                                       |
| Professional Development      | 10                                      |
| Parental Involvement          | 9                                       |
| Program Development           | 7                                       |
| Program Assessment/Evaluation | 8                                       |
| Community Involvement         | 5                                       |

The Office of Multicultural Education (OME) at the Central Board sponsors the Chancellor's Multicultural Advisory Committee, which all district Multicultural Coordinators are invited to attend once a month. In addition, the OME has sponsored Multicultural Institute workshops for district staff. The Institute workshops are held monthly at various locations throughout the city. Nine of the eleven respondents indicated that they attended four or more of these workshops. The majority (eight) identified them as somewhat helpful. Eight attended at least four or more Multicultural Institutes. Again, the majority (eight) of the coordinators also found the Institutes to be somewhat helpful. When asked to identify the most helpful Institutes, answers included: "1492 Encounter"; "Visit to Multicultural Resource Center"; "Collaborative Programs"; "Values Education"; and "Model Programs."

***Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural.*** The goal of the third section of the questionnaire was to determine the process undertaken by districts in developing curriculum that is multicultural in response to the Chancellor's Action Plan. Therefore, many of the questions used language taken directly from the Action Plan. Eight of the eleven respondents answered affirmatively when asked if their district had begun to develop curriculum that is multicultural. Two replied that their districts had not begun such efforts, with one indicating that it had not happened

district-wide but that individual schools within the district had begun such efforts. The Action Plan provides districts with seven guidelines to follow in the development of curriculum. These guidelines were incorporated into the questionnaire to determine the districts' progress in curriculum development. Table 5 presents the various responses and gives a picture of district activities.



**Table 5****District Efforts in Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural**

|                                                                                                | Not<br>yet<br>started | Begin-<br>ning<br>efforts | In pro-<br>gress | Com-<br>pleted |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (a) Developing content area goals                                                              | 1                     | 4                         | 4                | 1              |
| (b) Analysis of curriculum with<br>reference to multi-cultural ed.                             | 1                     | 5                         | 2                | 1              |
| (c) Development of initial<br>curriculum outline                                               | 1                     | 4                         | 3                | 1              |
| (d) Formulation of methods and<br>strategies for multicultural ed.                             | 1                     | 2                         | 7                | 0              |
| (e) Identification of resources,<br>writers, and reviewers                                     | 0                     | 2                         | 7                | 0              |
| (f) Utilization of social<br>action/decision making approach<br>in content areas of curriculum | 0                     | 2                         | 6                | 1              |
| (g) Review of curriculum drafts by<br>content area specialists                                 | 0                     | 5                         | 4                | 0              |
| (h) Other                                                                                      | 0                     | 0                         | 2*               | 0              |

\* Multicultural Curriculum for K-4 and 7. Pilot use of Curriculum (no grade specified).

The picture portrayed in Table 5 addresses the curriculum development process from a more global perspective. In future analysis of the data, it may prove useful to look at the processes of curriculum development within the individual districts.

The Multicultural Coordinators were asked to identify what facilitated the process of multicultural curriculum development and integration. Some of the responses were: "interest on part of school-based staff," "intensive professional development model that encourages and infuses multicultural education in all projects," and "part of the district's philosophy." They also identified areas of difficulties that they had experienced: "time and funding," "no staff to do it," "the need for continual professional development," and the "lack of coordination at the district level between and among curriculum areas so that multicultural curriculum is widely distributed."

Overwhelmingly, the most developed multicultural curriculum content area cited was the area of social studies (see Table 6). This was followed by communication arts and reading. The areas where the least amount of work was done were science and physical education. Only four of the eleven districts identified foreign languages as an area in which curriculum development was begun. Yet, a major component of the Action Plan is the content area of foreign language; the Action Plan specifically states that all students should graduate from New York City Public Schools with proficiency in at least two languages. In addition, all of the respondents indicated that they are using most of the curriculum guides developed and distributed by Central Board.

**Table 6****Content Areas Where CSDs are Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural**

| Content Area       | Number of Districts<br>Developing Curriculum |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Social Studies     | 9                                            |
| Communication Arts | 8                                            |
| Reading            | 7                                            |
| Art                | 6                                            |
| Foreign Language   | 4                                            |
| Music              | 4                                            |
| Math               | 4                                            |
| Science            | 3                                            |
| Physical Education | 2                                            |

The next set of questions addressed the issue of Central Board or Office of Multicultural Education support to each individual district. Four of the respondents felt that the Board was somewhat supportive in helping the district to construct and develop curriculum that is multicultural, and four responded that the Board was very supportive. One stated that the Board was less than supportive. Of all the areas identified on the questionnaire, at least one area was identified by a respondent as an area where the Board had provided assistance. Yet the majority of respondents (seven) identified the areas of professional development and curriculum development as the two areas in which they had received the most support, and indicated they would like to continue to receive more support in these same areas.

Of those areas that the district had addressed in implementing curriculum that is multicultural, the two that were least addressed in any way were assessment tools that are culturally and linguistically sensitive and unbiased, and methods that evaluate the process of implementing multicultural curriculum within the district. It is interesting to note that

even though only four districts had identified foreign languages as a specific content area where curriculum development had been done, most districts felt that significant work had been done in the area of proficiency in two languages. Some of the activities identified as part of the districts' work point to interesting and promising work for the future. Conflict resolution appeared to be a major area of work undertaken by most districts, including a proposed plan for an alternative school that will have peace education as its curricular focus.

It is clear from the question asking the Coordinators to identify the approaches used by the district to integrate multicultural content into the curriculum that most of the respondents believe that the transformation or social action approaches are most essential to curriculum development and integration (see Table 7). It is the primary aim along the continuum of reform and restructuring. Nonetheless, when asked which approaches were used most frequently, respondents indicated that the "addition of famous ethnic people into curriculum" and "addition of ethnic holidays and cultural elements into curriculum" were most used. These two items are curriculum changes at the contributions level.

**Table 7**

**CSD Curriculum Approaches to Develop  
Curriculum That Is Multicultural**

| Survey Items                                                                                                                                                | Curriculum Approaches |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) addition of famous ethnic people into the curriculum                                                                                                    | Contributions         |
| (b) addition of ethnic holidays, and cultural elements into curriculum                                                                                      | Contributions         |
| (c) addition of new and different themes and perspectives without changing curriculum                                                                       | Additive              |
| (d) change in basic assumptions of current curriculum to view concepts, issues, themes, and problems from several different perspectives and points of view | Transformation        |
| (e) infusion of various perspectives, frames of reference, and content from different groups into the curriculum                                            | Transformation        |
| (f) development of decision making/social action skills for students                                                                                        | Social Action         |
| (g) development of students' political efficacy for effective citizenship                                                                                   | Social Action         |

**Responses to items relating to curriculum approaches:**

- Which approach has been used *most* often in your curriculum efforts?  
a: 3 responses, b:3, c:3, d:1, e:2, f:2
- Which approach has been used *least* often in your curriculum efforts?  
a:1 response, e:2, f:5, g:3
- Which approach does the district see as *most* essential to the foundation for developing curriculum that is multicultural?  
d:3 responses, e:4, f:2, g:1

Race, national origin and ethnicity are the primary perspectives that have been integrated into the curriculum according to most of the respondents. On the other hand, in one district, it was noted that sexual preference was the second most widely incorporated perspective in the curriculum. This is opposed to another district, which noted that sexual preference/orientation issues were prohibited by the Community School Board.<sup>2</sup>

**Staff Development.** In responding to the last section that asked about staff development efforts, seven coordinators indicated that their district did have a staff development program. Some of the topics addressed in it included: prejudice reduction, conflict resolution, cooperative learning, team building, interdisciplinary education, introduction to multicultural education for new teachers, and developing language through science. The first two topics are also key goals of the Action Plan. Two coordinators reported that their districts have not had multicultural staff development programs.

### IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A preliminary examination of responses from the questionnaire has various implications regarding the development of curriculum that is multicultural in New York City Community School Districts. There was an insufficient number of questionnaires returned to make statistically significant generalizations. However, the results may provide an indication of the process and activities currently being undertaken to meet the mandates of the Action Plan for Multicultural Education. These data can provide an initial overview of the CSDs current efforts in implementing the Action Plan. They also point to future topics and direction for research in this area. Following are some of the positive and negative implications obtained from the questionnaire results. They are organized according to the specific sections of the questionnaire.

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<sup>2</sup> This paper was originally written in June 1992 and revised in February 1993. Since that time, the curriculum developed by the New York City Board of Education (Children of the Rainbow) for first graders has become a source of major controversy. The controversy stems from parents and community board members' negative reactions to the inclusion of curriculum materials dealing with families where the parents are gay or lesbian.

### **Demographic Information**

- It would be important to have a more accurate and complete picture of the demographic make-up of the Multicultural Coordinators. This questionnaire reveals a lack of ethnic and racial diversity among the responding coordinators.
- There is a need for further training of the Multicultural Coordinators in the area of curriculum development based on the social action/decision making approach.
- Information on the professional responsibilities of the Coordinators point to a work assignment overload, with limited funds, time, and background knowledge that will hinder their efforts to create educational environments and curriculum that are multicultural. The position of Multicultural Coordinator should be full-time, with no other professional responsibilities or demands.

### **Organizing for Education That Is Multicultural**

- The fact that many districts started efforts in the area of multicultural education prior to the adoption of the Multicultural Policy indicates that this was an educational concern and/or interest for some districts irrespective of the Board of Education's mandate.
- Since the Action Plan specifies a process for districts to develop curriculum that is multicultural which includes the involvement of many sectors, it is revealing that many of the district advisory committees have no representatives from community-based organizations. It is important that these committees increase representation from this constituency. Many of these organizations have different and often informed perspectives on the student population and the community within the school district. Some committees had student representation, while others had none. A future area of research could involve determining the role and impact of student committee members on district policy and curriculum in the area of education that is multicultural.
- There is a need for the district multicultural advisory committees to initiate and undertake activities in the area of affirmative action. The Action Plan identifies Affirmative Action as a goal in order to insure that faculty and staff are representative of the diversity of New York City's student population.
- Multicultural Coordinators found both institutes and meetings offered by the Central Board to be somewhat helpful. This is an aspect of the



project that should be continued.

- As was expected, social studies was the content area that received the greatest focus in attempting to develop curriculum that is multicultural. Foreign language, even though not the area receiving the least amount of concentration and effort, was still quite low in the attention that districts gave it. If New York City schools are to graduate students who are proficient in at least two languages, then efforts must be accelerated at the CSD level beginning in kindergarten.
- Curriculum guides that have been developed by the Central Board are being used by classroom teachers throughout the city. Research needs to be done to determine whether these curriculum guides promote a social action/decision making approach in their instructional design.

#### **Developing Curriculum That Is Multicultural**

- Many unique activities are occurring in the schools as a result of developing curriculum that is multicultural. These activities and programs are directly related to many of the goals specified in the Action Plan. One specific example is conflict resolution. Large numbers of teachers and counselors are being trained to work with students in this area. In one case, students have been prepared to serve as peer mediators in their schools. A future area of research would be to examine the extent to which conflict resolution is fully utilized by students.
- Districts have demonstrated attempts to develop curriculum that is multicultural, yet the social action/decision making approach is rare. More needs to be done in this area at both the district and Central Board levels.
- Currently, the perspectives most widely integrated into curriculum that is multicultural are race and ethnicity. Very little has been done in incorporating the perspectives of gender, age, and sexual preference which are clearly identified in the Action Plan. In most instances, sexual preference receives the least attention. More must be done to make education that is multicultural more inclusive of the many aspects of diversity, not only race and ethnicity.

#### **Staff Development**

- District staff development programs need to be continued. Most of the Multicultural Coordinators indicated that these programs had been

useful in effectively and readily disseminating information to other staff members. Yet, many staff have not had opportunities for professional development in the area of multicultural education. This, too, is an area for future research. It would be important to determine processes and strategies for effectively involving and providing professional development services to not only teachers, but to all school and district personnel.

### CONCLUSION

The intent of this research was to ascertain how Community School Districts are implementing the goals and guidelines of the Action Plan for Multicultural Education in New York City. A specific focus was to investigate whether any districts had restructured curriculum in the various content areas by utilizing a social action/decision making approach. Data collected from the questionnaire revealed that many district Coordinators were aware that the new curriculum being developed should have a social action/decision making approach. Yet, for the most part, districts now engaged in curriculum development are only employing the contributions and additive approaches. More research needs to be done in order to confirm or refute the initial findings of this questionnaire. Only when further research is undertaken at the classroom and school levels will it be possible to fully analyze and evaluate whether curricula developed by CSDs are employing the social action/decision making approach.

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## **TOWARDS A CONSCIOUSLY MULTICULTURAL MATHEMATICS CURRICULUM<sup>1</sup>**

**Walter G. Secada**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Over the past few years, proponents of multiculturalism and multicultural education have made some impressive strides in their efforts

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Lisa Byrd, Carl Grant, Elizabeth Fennema, William Tate, and an anonymous reviewer for their comments on an earlier draft. I do not cite specific mathematics series or publishing houses in this chapter because I want to avoid seeming to endorse or oppose specific efforts for increasing the multicultural content of mathematics curriculum. This document's preparation was supported in part by the National Center for Research in Mathematics Sciences Education (NCRMSE), funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U. S. Department of Education (OERI, grant no. R117G10002), and by the Wisconsin Center for Education Research (WCER), School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison. The opinions expressed in this manuscript are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of NCRMSE, OERI, or WCER.

to enhance the practice of multicultural education in school arts, humanities, and social sciences (Banks & Banks, 1989; Hiebert, 1991; Saravia-Shore & Arvizu, 1992). Some of the sciences—viz. the study of biodiversity and ethnoscience—have also shown modest gains. To be sure, such efforts have not been without criticism (Ortiz de Montellano, 1992; Perry, 1992; Yurco, 1991), controversy (Scott, 1991), and outright backlash (Hughes, 1992). Yet even critics of multiculturalism and multicultural education recognize that cultural diversity is a fact of life in our schools and that we must find ways of helping teachers to address not just culture but also language, social class, gender, and the other ways by which students, teachers, and, indeed, all of us are situated in society (Kennedy, 1991; Means, Chelemer, & Knapp, 1991; Quality Education for Minorities [QEM] Network, 1992; QEM Project, 1990).

There have been growing concerns in the mathematics education community about the importance of attending to issues of student diversity (QEM Network, 1992; QEM Project, 1990; Secada, 1992; Secada & Carey, 1990; Secada & Meyer, 1991). Yet, with the major exception of Marilyn Frankenstein's *Radical Maths* (1989),<sup>2</sup> there seem to have been few efforts and even fewer success stories in weaving multicultural content systematically through the mathematics curriculum.

Rationales for school mathematics that has been shaped to be multicultural, anti-racist, and gender fair can be found in work by Ernst (1989, particularly the section on social context) and Frankenstein (1987, 1992). Hence, assuming the desirability of a multicultural mathematics education, a question of interest is how to proceed.

This chapter is limited to questions of how multicultural content might become part of the school mathematics *curriculum*. Other issues, such as how to shape instruction and assessment to support multicultural goals in school mathematics, have been excluded. This is not to downplay their importance; rather, my intent is to address a single issue in-depth and to leave others for a different time and place.

In the first part of this chapter, I argue that school mathematics already is shaped by social and cultural forces, and hence, an issue is to become purposeful in attending to those forces. Next, I discuss current

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<sup>2</sup> I do not include some very worthwhile materials like Zaslavsky's *Multicultural Mathematics* (1993) in this observation since they do not form a complete mathematics course.

practice—that is, what is happening in the name of multicultural education in school mathematics—and the debates that revolve around that practice. Third, I consider how the mathematics education reform movement can provide new ways for thinking about multiculturalism. And finally, this paper ends with some recommendations for next steps.

### SCHOOL MATHEMATICS AS A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ARTIFACT

Many people believe that the discipline of mathematics transcends in some universal manner the categories of race, social class, language, and gender. Though some authors (Damarin, 1992; Ernst, 1991) disagree with this assessment and argue that mathematics possesses no such neutrality, a careful consideration of that debate lies beyond the scope of this paper. Even if an academic discipline could transcend these categories, it does not automatically follow that its representation in the school curriculum or that its teaching to students could maintain that same transcendent neutrality. As Stanic (1991) has noted, the sheer amount of mathematical knowledge that *could* be taught in school far outstrips the amount of mathematical knowledge that *can* be taught. Schools must be selective in what gets taught and that selectivity guarantees that political, social, and cultural forces will play major roles in shaping the school mathematics that students experience.

#### Hidden Cultural and Social Forces

How these cultural and social forces operate is often hidden, but nonetheless, their effects can be seen. For example, a common classroom activity in the elementary grades is for children to design and run their own school store. By running the store, children add and subtract numbers, learn about money, and develop planning and organizational skills in a meaningful setting.

Yet seldom does one see a classroom project based on school children running a school-based social services agency such as an after-school tutoring program for younger children where the costs are linked to people's ability to pay. In the case of a social service agency, children could still learn mathematics, much of it the same as could be learned via a school store setting. But only the school store is ever seen in elementary school; indeed, the idea of setting up a social service agency

strikes many elementary school teachers that I have spoken with as too radical for their classrooms.

Note, however, that teaching mathematics through the school store grants legitimacy to a particular use of mathematics and helps to socialize children into accepting the economic premises of the store. Simultaneously, that usage hides the possibility that mathematics might be used in a different economic setting.

### **Direct Links between School Mathematics and the Economy**

Sometimes, the cultural and social forces that help to shape school mathematics do become visible. For example, the Virgin Islands government (Virgin Islands Tourism Awareness Link Task Force, 1988-1989) promulgated a mathematics and social studies curriculum guide whose activities are exclusively related to tourism, one of the Islands' most important industries. In this guide, businesses that depend on tourism, tourism's impact on the local economy, and tourism's low-skilled, low-paying jobs provided the contexts for the study of mathematics and social studies.

Recently, the United States has experienced efforts to create tighter links between labor force skill needs and school subjects (SCANS, 1991, 1992). The intent of these efforts are similar to those in the Virgin Islands—both seek to shape the mathematics curriculum based on economic considerations. Differences between these efforts are due to the differential status that is accorded to the jobs and careers that get portrayed; in the United States, highly-skilled technical jobs are favored, while in the Virgin Islands, the jobs were low-skilled, low-paying, and service oriented.

But the fundamental fact remains: because school mathematics must be selective, it can be and it is shaped by political, social, and cultural forces. Hence, even if the discipline of mathematics proved to be culture free, school mathematics is not.

### **CURRENT PRACTICE: INCLUSION AND REPRESENTATIVENESS IN TEXTS**

Current theorizing in multicultural education provides many useful ways for thinking about the school curriculum in general (for example, Banks & Banks, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). However,



current practice in school mathematics is limited almost exclusively to representing diverse groups in curricular materials. To be sure, inclusion and representativeness are major advances. Textbook publishers' inclusion of names and pictures of students who can be readily identified as representing many backgrounds communicates that mathematics is for everyone and also reflects the diversity in this society.

Recently, the concern for representing diversity in school mathematics texts—especially those in elementary school—has extended to including more information about the many uses mathematics of and contributors to the development of the field. For example, most major publishing house series now include biographies of female and male mathematicians, information about how diverse peoples have contributed to the historical development of mathematics, and mathematical activities showing its use in everyday life around the world. Some publishers provide ancillary materials that include more information about children's games from around the world and about careers involving mathematics.

All these inclusion and representativeness efforts help to de-stereotype mathematics. They are based on our best thinking in the 1970s and 1980s, and they show that mathematics is in the world around us and hence that it belongs to everyone. However, these same efforts at de-stereotyping mathematics are subject to at least three major threats: (a) superficial treatment of mathematical content, (b) irrelevance of content and contexts to the lives of diverse students, and (c) the possibility of re-creating stereotypes, but in different ways.

### **Superficial Treatment of Mathematics and Multicultural Content**

At least since the mid-1980s, mathematics texts have been criticized for their superficial treatment of mathematics, an organization that discourages in-depth treatment of any topics, their repetitive coverage of the same content year after year, the failure to cover any new content during the middle school years, and the mismatch between how children learn and reason mathematically versus what is found in the book. Consistent with this litany, multicultural referents tend to be treated superficially with little attention to the mathematics found in those contexts and with even less concern for students' every day lives and experiences.

For example, among the multicultural mathematics artifacts presented in textbooks are: the Ishango bone that is over 8,000 years old (Claudia Zaslavsky, in personal communication, has noted that recent

estimates put its age and that of similar artifacts at close to 30,000 years) and was found in Africa, counting systems from ancient Egypt and Peru's Incas, the pyramids, and children's games or games of chance through history and from around the world—Ascher (1991) and Zaslavsky (1979, 1993) provide some excellent primary sources. Beyond being mentioned, however, these and related topics are seldom studied for their mathematical content. For example, what makes the Ishango bone so mathematically interesting is that its patterns suggest that, very early in the history of the species, people noticed patterns in the surrounding world that may have been related to the phases of the moon and may have had some understanding of the difference between prime and composite numbers (Zaslavsky, 1979). Such possible interpretations of these artifacts and how we might choose among them are never seriously discussed in school mathematics texts.

Students are not asked to try to figure out the mathematical modeling and other detective work that went into decoding the Rhind Papyrus (Zaslavsky, 1979) or the Inca quipus that were used for record keeping (Ascher, 1991). Nor are they challenged with the question that would come up if they were to study the Egyptian system of unit fractions in real depth: Can all fractions be written as unit fractions? Children may play some multicultural games, but the games are never studied for their underlying mathematical logic or to determine if they are fair based on a probabilistic study relating possible events to pay-offs.

Rather, as is the case for much of school mathematics, the presentation of the content tends to be mathematically trivial and superficial. Not only does this diminish the contributions of those who have worked so hard to reclaim these efforts for all to see (for example, Ascher, 1991; Zaslavsky, 1979), but also it trivializes the accomplishments of those people who initially created the mathematics. It would be ironic if success in getting these topics into the curriculum resulted in students' receiving the message that the best accomplishments of diverse peoples were mathematically trivial.

### **Irrelevance**

An equally serious danger in the treatment of multiculturalism in school mathematics is that students' own mathematical discoveries and accomplishments receive short shrift. Instead, what receives the attention is other people's mathematical accomplishments. No longer are students expected to study mathematics as created predominantly by a group of

dead White men; now it is mathematics as created predominantly by a group of dead men, or at best, dead people.<sup>3</sup> The mathematics discussed may—or may not—have been the work of students' ancestors. But students' own lives and realities are still omitted from the picture. The tantalizing question of ethnomathematics is never asked: What might mathematics be like if we pursued students' own interests and lives as providing the settings and the problems for the mathematics that is the focus of the curriculum?

More generally, much of the mathematics found in today's texts is irrelevant to students' personal lives and their needs for participating in the world that they will inherit. Indeed, we spend the first six years of children's lives trying to make a \$5 pocket calculator obsolete by studying shopkeepers' mathematics from times past (arithmetic). As students grow older, they are expected to master even older branches of mathematics in the discoveries made during the time of Arabic hegemony (algebra) and of knowledge that was developed by the ancient Egyptians and whose surviving records were in Greek (geometry).<sup>4</sup> Much of what gets placed in texts as representing multicultural contributions to mathematics is itself as old, maybe even older. Though there is worth in the study of history, we need to remember that the current crisis in school mathematics was caused, at least in part, by students' rejection of that history's presentation in the form of mathematics.

### Re-Creation of Stereotypes

One of the most serious challenges to efforts based on inclusion and representation is the unintended re-stereotyping of school mathematics. This danger can crop up in various ways. For example, certain names and pictures in curriculum materials are meant to signal inclusion of diverse student populations. But almost invariably, the ethnicity of children of non-Anglo descent is signalled by the use of exotic sounding or non-English language names; and moreover, these names are often illustrated by faces that are supposed to be of non-White ethnic groups. While students of non-Anglo descent may keep culturally

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<sup>3</sup> I owe this characterization of multicultural referents in mathematics to Jerilyn Grignon.

<sup>4</sup> I owe this characterization of school mathematics to Tom Romberg.

traditional names (for example, Hai, Jesus, Maria, or Mohammed) or may have (what to the middle-class ear seem like) exotic names, a rigid adherence to this observation ignores that, in reality, names are spread throughout the population. Arthur (as in Ashe), Michael (Chang, Jackson, Jordan), and Kristi (Yamaguchi) are perfectly good names that are used by many people. Moreover, White ethnics also use exotic and foreign-sounding names.

Some publishers have argued that they use names and link them with particular pictures in order to meet school district demands that diverse populations are included in their materials. But at the very least, it should be possible for pictures of diverse student populations to not always be labeled via exotic names.

A second major challenge in terms of re-creating stereotyping concerns the portrayal of traditional jobs. Efforts to portray career options must toe a narrow line between acknowledging the traditional roles and jobs that are found in many students' extended families and the portrayal of opportunity in non-stereotyped ways. For example, a delicatessen or a pizza parlor might be shown in a mathematics text, but seldom will one see a taco stand because publishers fear offending Mexican Americans.<sup>5</sup> Girls may be portrayed in many non-traditional career opportunities, but seldom are boys found in what are considered to be traditional female roles. Moreover, low-status jobs are seldom, if ever, portrayed in texts for fear of offending groups that have traditionally filled such positions.

These problems are real, not just for textbook publishers but also for people who support multicultural education in schools. On the one hand, texts are trying to portray non-stereotyped opportunities for students. But on the other hand, if the reason for including cross-cultural contexts and referents is to invite all students to participate in mathematics, then the exclusion of traditional roles or low-status jobs represents an incomplete invitation to students who (a) are being socialized according to those traditional roles; or (b) see in their everyday lives the low-status jobs filled by parents, friends, and extended family members. One possible solution might be to include many more cross-cultural settings and contexts, and to include traditional ones among them.

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<sup>5</sup> Many reasons seem possible for why similar concerns do not apply to the portrayal of a deli or pizza parlor. They do not invalidate nor alter fundamentally my point.

The social relations of power and competition found in pictures or other settings present yet a third challenge to efforts based on inclusion and representation. Pictures and texts (for example, story problems) contain many subtle cues about who has power in a social context and how relationships are enacted. And many contexts (for example, sports) contain much competitiveness.

Some proponents of multicultural and gender fair curricula object to the inclusion of such settings. Yet these settings are included precisely because they are interesting to students and because they represent students' actual lives. Indeed, as girls are becoming more active in sports, they are becoming as familiar with and interested in sports (and other competitive) settings as are boys.

In addition, many children who are socialized according to non-dominant cultural norms of behavior may not understand the dominant culture's norms for the enactment of power relations and competition. Exposure to these settings and those relations provides them with experiences that, in theory, should help them understand (and possibly chose to reject) how power and competition are enacted in the larger society. More generally, to function successfully in the dominant society, students must understand and act on two levels—that which corresponds to their own cultural group's ways of behaving and that which corresponds to the dominant cultural group's ways.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the removal of power relations and competition from texts may hinder these students' opportunities to make those relations explicit, to study them, and to develop the necessary dual consciousness.

My intent is not to downplay the real advances that have taken place over the past years. Rather, in spite of (or maybe even because of) these gains, there remain problems and issues that need to be addressed, and for which approaches based on inclusion and representativeness might prove insufficient or even counter-productive. Moreover, current school mathematics reform provides yet another challenge to those who work in the area of multicultural education: to continue the new mathematics curriculum with meaningful and substantial multicultural education.

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<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Bill Tate for pointing this out to me.

## MATHEMATICS EDUCATION REFORM

As a thought experiment, assume that the problems associated with representation and inclusion could be solved through the development of curricular materials that were part of today's mathematics texts and of other supplementary materials. Would that accomplishment—substantial though it might be—be enough? If we believe current reform documents for school mathematics, the answer is "no" (Mathematical Sciences Education Board, 1990, 1991; National Council of Teachers of Mathematics [MCTM], 1989, 1991; National Research Council, 1989; Romberg, 1992; Steen, 1990, 1991). The argument for the reform in school mathematics is that the curriculum in general requires a complete overhaul to better reflect advances in our knowledge about the nature of mathematics as a discipline and as a tool for reasoning, how students learn mathematics, and the mathematics that tomorrow's adults will need in order to participate in the spheres of work, society, and personal empowerment (Romberg, 1992; Secada, 1991). These documents call for shifts, not just in how much mathematics students take, but also in the kinds of mathematics that they study.

### Changes in the Curriculum

The goals of the curriculum reform movement are very ambitious. Fundamentally, they are intended to support the development of student reasoning. Curriculum should begin with how students reason, informally and intuitively, about problems. It should be composed of tasks that will help develop students' reasoning to some mathematically relevant end points. It should focus on fewer things that are studied in greater depth, rather than trying to cover too much and not do much very well.

The content that students study should change. Those changes are dictated by advances in mathematics and by the fact that mathematics in everyday life has become more complex than is portrayed by the simple, paper and pencil algorithmic knowledge that is so highly valued in today's texts. Much of what passes for mathematical knowledge and skill, such as paper and pencil algorithms, has been relegated to instruments and calculating tools like computers and pocket calculators. Reformers argue that the basic cultural heritage of all students should be thought of as including calculating tools which students should use regularly to support the development of their mathematical reasoning. And moreover,



if students are to go beyond merely surviving in the world of their adulthoods, the mathematics that they encounter should be meaningful to them and it should be linked to that participation.

Some reviewers (Apple, 1992) of the reform documents would take these arguments a step farther. For example, they would argue that, for many students, survival in the world of tomorrow is predicated on their surviving in today's world. Hence, students' mathematics curriculum should be meaningful and prepare students not just for the world that they will inherit, but also for the world that they live in right now.

Of the many other recommendations found in the reform documents, two provide challenges and opportunities for multicultural education. These are: (1) a curriculum that supports student reasoning, and (2) mathematics that will prepare students to participate fully in the world that they will inherit.

### **Student Reasoning**

The development of student reasoning provides opportunities for multicultural education in two ways. First, students' own personal lives can provide settings for their study of mathematics. Their lives have been shaped by their home cultures and socialization patterns. Second, support for and development of reasoning are based on the in-depth study of fewer topics. Hence it becomes possible, even necessary, for contexts and problems (such as the Ishango bone or historical numeration systems) to be studied in the depth that they deserve.

***Student Backgrounds and Informal Knowledge.*** Students enter school possessing much more mathematical knowledge than they are credited with (see Carpenter, 1985). That knowledge is informal since students have acquired it outside of school, from their families and during their day-to-day lives. Students' informal knowledge is likely to have gaps and not to apply, readily, across a broad range of situations. It is to those gaps that people often point as the reason for ignoring and distrusting children's informal knowledge. Carpenter (1985) has argued that, because curricula and teachers have ignored students' mathematical knowledge and reasoning, these gaps increase. As their informal knowledge gets further removed from the mathematics that they encounter, students begin to believe that mathematics is a mystifying subject composed of meaningless rules and symbol manipulation, and that its learning and understanding are reserved for the elite few.

One way to support student reasoning is to draw mathematical



settings from students' own background experiences. For example, in developing knowledge of fractions among her third graders, Ball (1991, 1993) invited them to think about the problem of dividing loaves of bread, cookies, brownies, and other objects among their friends and extended family members. First-grade teachers in the program known as Cognitively Guided Instruction (Carpenter & Fennema, 1992, provide an overview; also see Peterson, Fennema, & Carpenter, 1991) routinely draw upon their children's informal arithmetic problem solving skills by posing word problems that use their names, familiar situations (for example, the seasons), or recently completed group activities (a field trip to the local zoo). In *Cheche Konnen* (Rosebery, Warren, & Conant, 1989, 1992; Warren, Rosebery, & Conant, 1989), middle schoolers speaking Haitian-Creole have investigated scientific problems involving water taste preferences and water quality, salt intake, and the acoustics of drum beating. All these problems are derived from children's real-world contexts and interests.

This is not to say that all efforts to draw upon children's backgrounds and real world problems can be executed without negotiation of the meanings that get attached to those backgrounds. For example, in asking students to share items among family members, Ball (1993) noted that students first had to negotiate, in their groups, who would be considered a family member. In this way, her students confronted the diversity of one another's family structures. Ball (1991) has also noted that notions about equality are culture-bound, and hence, the concept of a fraction as something which results from dividing things equally among the members of a group may require cultural mediation.

Nonetheless, the point remains: the setting and contexts in which to develop mathematical reasoning should be based on students' own background experiences since these are the very experiences that gave rise to their informal understandings in the first place. Multicultural education, with its study of students' diverse cultural backgrounds, has much to say to the mathematics education reform movement on this account.

**Depth of Coverage.** If the contexts and structures used to create mathematical problems are derived from children's backgrounds, then the support and development of student mathematical reasoning also dictate that those topics be explored and studied in greater depth than is the case for much of the current curriculum. Depth of coverage makes possible the development and elaboration of new mathematical knowledge and the

creation of links among different mathematical (and cultural) contexts.

The notion of depth over breadth allows us to address three of my original concerns. Multicultural contexts should be chosen for how well they would support the in-depth development of mathematical reasoning. Second, students' in-depth study will do justice to the people (including the students themselves) who originally developed the mathematics. And third, in-depth study of multicultural contexts will communicate the message that mathematics truly is the property of all peoples.

### **What to Teach**

By basing curricular decisions on the need to develop a mathematically literate populace who will be able to participate fully in the world of tomorrow, reformers have provided an opportunity to expand the debate to include the world as it is today and as will be tomorrow for students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds—even if that was not the original intent of their reasoning. Most reform documents have constructed participation in tomorrow's society by today's students in terms of labor-market needs for mathematical, scientific, and technical literacy (SCANS, 1991, 1992; also see Secada, 1991). In some cases, those concerns have been expanded to include intelligent decision-making and participation in this country's most cherished democratic and social institutions (NCTM, 1989; also see the review in Secada, 1991). But in all cases, the reform documents remain silent on how adults might (and do) use mathematics to demystify social processes, advocate for change, oppose regressive business practices (such as redlining), and in general, to promote the interests and concerns of groups who have been traditionally marginalized in this society.

For example, participation in the labor force is problematic and constrained due to business practices that stratify opportunity, exploit nature, or are in other ways regressive in their treatment of nature, people, and society. When one asks—as do the reform documents—about the mathematical knowledge that people will require in order to participate fully in society, then one opens the possibility of studying mathematics in order to understand, demystify, challenge, and change those practices.

Mathematical literacy can and should be linked to how specific groups are marginalized in this society and to ways by which their interests might be promoted. For example, asking about the mathematical

literacy that all children will need for meaningful and unfettered participation in a democratic and multicultural society provides the possibility of asking such questions as: What mathematics would American Indian children need in order to manage the lands and resources that are in their trust and to protect their treaty-guaranteed rights? Such questions would grant legitimacy to the study of a range of multicultural settings whose examination will prepare students for authentic roles in society.

*Cheche Konnen* (Rosebery, Warren, & Conant, 1989, 1992; Warren, Rosebery, & Conant, 1989) provides one possible approach to settling on the content and contexts that merit mathematical study. Teachers and students selected contexts—like water quality—that were immediately interesting and socially relevant. Frankenstein's *Radical Maths* (1989, 1990, 1992) provides yet another approach—one with more of an edge. Frankenstein's adult students re-learn mathematics through its applications in situations fraught with issues that are linked to social class, race, ethnicity, and gender.

The possibility of asking questions about the mathematical knowledge and skills that today's students will need in order to participate in tomorrow's world provides a challenge for advocates of multicultural education. Social and cultural forces that are shaping the school mathematics curriculum are currently focused on labor needs and participation in tomorrow's society. Neither agenda challenges the status quo, questions how relations of power are constructed in our society, nor seeks to empower the children of historically disenfranchised groups. But curriculum design needs to be informed by more subtle understandings that are the domain of multicultural education—viz., how increasing numbers of today's children are from ethnically, culturally, and linguistically, diverse backgrounds; how their family structures no longer match the 1950s ideal of the nuclear family; how our society is becoming increasingly diverse and how people will need to negotiate their way in that society; and how participation in work and our democratic institutions must be meaningful. Those questions and issues are at the core of multicultural education.

If multicultural concerns can influence the shaping of the mathematics curriculum, then that curriculum can be moved beyond representation and towards seriously considering multicultural contexts as worthy of study—even those contexts that may be considered oppositional or dangerous by the dominant, mainstream society (see Ernst, 1991).

### NEXT STEPS

I have argued that multicultural education and mathematics education have the possibility of meeting in ways that go beyond inclusion and representation in the curriculum. The current reform movement in mathematics, through its focus on student reasoning and on preparing students for participation in the world of tomorrow, provides opportunities to construct multicultural contexts that sustain students' mathematical reasoning and can be studied in-depth. It also prepares students for meaningful participation in that society. The challenge for multicultural educators is to identify issues and ways of approaching this task by building upon advances in mathematics education. For mathematics educators, the challenge will be to understand how diverse cultural contexts can provide settings in which to do serious mathematics.

To be sure, many more challenges lie ahead. Possibly the greatest one facing multicultural education is to identify and understand the immediate reality of students' lives in ways that can make it worthy of mathematical study. This is not to say that we should abandon historical contexts or those from around the world; we and our children are situated in those contexts and our understandings of today need to be informed by this. However, it is to say that we need to take more seriously the mathematics that today's children and students can create as they solve their own problems and look for patterns in their immediate worlds.

Another challenge will be to see the mathematical possibilities in places where we had never before thought of looking. Somewhat ironically, we probably understand the everyday mathematics of children from places outside of the United States (see the review by Nunnes, 1992) more than we do of our own children. That must change.

The crafting of curriculum is no easy matter and many hard choices will need to be made. Contexts that are rich in mathematical possibility may have to be abandoned because they are irrelevant to diverse learning populations; but on the other hand, multicultural contexts which cannot support the serious development of mathematical reasoning will have to be relegated to other studies. If we are going to cover fewer concepts, but in more depth, then we will have to be sure that the topics we cover are truly worth students' time and effort.

There remain many areas and points that fall at the intersection of multicultural and mathematics education. One open curricular issue, for

example, concerns the balance between basic skills development and the new goals for mathematical reasoning as articulated in the reform documents. Reform-based recommendations for de-emphasis of paper and pencil algorithms will have to be weighed against concerns that students might be judged and be treated differentially as a result of such de-emphasis. In addition, the development of teaching and assessment that are supportive of both, multicultural and mathematics reform goals, still requires much careful thought.

More generally, we will need to create analyses that combine current theorizing in both, multicultural education and mathematics education. First steps would probably be the application of frameworks from one field in the other (e.g., NCTM, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). From such an effort might evolve a way of studying and talking about multicultural education and mathematics education that does justice to both fields of study.

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**SPANISH AS A  
SECOND SCHOOL LANGUAGE:  
ADDING LANGUAGE  
TO THE DISCOURSE  
OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION**

**Josué M. González**

**INTRODUCTION**

The discourse of multicultural education tends toward the generic. Its literature generalizes about themes that are applied, broadly, to all racial and ethnic groups. This may be due to the view, common among theoretical multiculturalists, that all language and cultural groups are more or less equal in importance when it comes to multicultural curriculum. In the dynamics of the "real world" in which education policy is made, this is far from true. All groups do not have the same impact or importance for social institutions. Large, politically influential minorities exert much greater influence on curriculum matters than do smaller groups, more recent immigrants, or groups that may be large but not politically empowered.

While it is important to recognize the validity of the generalizations that apply to all cultural groups, it is also important to

recognize that certain issues and interests are more relevant to some groups than to others. Race and racism are topics that must be studied and grasped in order to understand the current status of African Americans. The history of Jews cannot be fully known without an examination of the horror of the Holocaust. The story of Native Americans offers a unique perspective on what it means to be the first Americans. The key point is that all racial, ethnic, and cultural groups do not view the same topics with the same importance and that fact determines the relative priority given by different groups to different issues. For some minorities, language is a more important marker and, hence, of greater curricular concern than anything else. In the generic discourse of multicultural education all of these concerns are worthy of attention because they help to create the "big picture" which is the hallmark of a culturally inclusive curricula. However, it is equally important to acknowledge the special issues that each group considers important from its particular point of view.

This paper explores an aspect of American multiculturalism that is largely absent in the literature of multicultural education. It is a topic often ignored when proposals for curriculum reform are considered under the rubric of multicultural education. At issue is the Spanish language, the singular feature that distinguishes Latinos from other groups in the society. The Spanish language is the solid core at the center of Latino identity; it is the common element defining the concept of "Hispanic" or "Latino," that peculiar amalgam of nationality groups that, in the U.S. is viewed as one people. The aggregation of Chicano, Cuban, Dominican, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and others who comprise the Latino group has no counterpart with any other immigrant group in the United States. Its uniqueness is important for understanding the Latino experience. It is equally important in assessing the adaptations and changes that are needed in curriculum in order to reflect the Latino presence in U.S. life. The lack of comparability between Latinos and other groups with respect to language is the basis for my contention that U.S. schools should adopt a new posture with respect to the Spanish language.

In developing this proposal, I will proceed as follows. I will document the heightened importance of the Spanish language in modern U.S. society and show that it has risen markedly in recent years. Historical and demographic data show that the importance of Spanish is unique and unparalleled in the history of the nation and that this uniqueness should make it important to education, particularly for

multicultural education. I will review the factors that support the contention that the role of the Spanish language in the schools should be redefined. I will also relate my proposal to the concept of bilingual education as it is commonly understood today and show why bilingual education is not the desired solution. Finally, I will make specific recommendations for initial steps that can be taken by schools to begin the process of giving Spanish a more prominent role. These steps are neither definitive nor all inclusive; they are intended to show the feasibility of my proposal.

### THE SIGNIFICANT LATINO PRESENCE IN THE U.S.

There are at least five factors and circumstances that put the Spanish language in a unique position in contemporary American life:

#### Size of the Latino Population

In his report, *A Demographic Look at Tomorrow*, educator and demographer Harold L. Hodgkinson (1992) pointed out that:

- By the end of this century, nearly one-third of all school children in the United States will be minority. They will be mostly Hispanic and African American and will be concentrated in 40 cities and their respective suburbs.
- By the year 2010 there will be nearly as many Hispanic children in the 0-17 age group as there will be African Americans. There will be about ten million Hispanic children and 11.5 million Black children at that time.

According to the 1990 census, the total number of Spanish sumamed people in the U.S. was 22.4 million and the number is growing rapidly. The Census Bureau (1992) estimates that by the middle of the next century, the Latino population will quadruple (to 81 million), surpassing the number of African Americans to become the nation's largest minority. The Urban Institute (Edmonston, 1993) has made similar projections.

While the current number of U.S. Latinos is large, the Latino percentage of the total population is less than 10 percent. Nevertheless,

in 1990, the U.S. had a Spanish speaking population equal to the combined populations of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. This makes the U.S. one of the largest Spanish speaking countries in the world. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the U.S. is well on its way to becoming a Latin American nation.

### **Commonness of the Spanish Language**

The most significant fact about Spanish in the U.S. is that it is, by far, the most commonly used language in the country next to English (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). In the U.S., no other language approximates Spanish in the number of people who use it on a daily basis. Recent government data show that more than 17 million people in the U.S. use Spanish on a regular basis in their everyday lives.<sup>1</sup> This number is more than ten times greater than the number who speak French, the third most commonly used language in the nation (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993). Importantly, the number of Spanish speakers in the U.S. surpasses the number of those who speak all other languages combined.<sup>2</sup>

The large size of the Spanish speaking population today and its projected growth in the future is directly responsible for the second unique feature: when it comes to language, American Spanish speakers have an option that is not available to speakers of other languages. Almost at will, Latinos are able to re-connect themselves —by simply pushing a TV or radio button— to their nations of origin. Spanish language radio and television allow Spanish speakers to keep in close touch not only with their places of origin but with all of the component parts of the Latino group as well. Modern technology and communication networks help to strengthen the Latino sense of community by aiding the continued use of the Spanish language. This has not been true for other language groups in the United States to the same extent. Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with the number of Spanish surnamed individuals, which is much larger.

<sup>2</sup> According to the U.S. Department of Commerce (1993), this includes French, German, Italian, Chinese, Tagalog, Polish, Korean, Vietnamese, Portuguese, Japanese, Greek, Arabic, Hindu, Russian, Yiddish, Thai, Persian, French Creole, Armenian, Navajo, Hungarian, Hebrew, Dutch, and Mon-Kmer.



language media of all types are thriving. Radio, television, newspapers, and magazines in Spanish are growing in number and importance. There are even Spanish language book clubs and CD clubs that advertise in those magazines. Two Spanish language television networks, Telemundo and Univision, are in operation in the U.S. The combined viewership of the two networks is equivalent to the fourth largest TV network in the nation ranking just under NBC, CBS, and ABC.

Viewers of Spanish television may choose to watch Spanish soap operas, Spanish MTV, Spanish children's shows, or Spanish talk shows. Latin American news coverage on the Spanish networks is generally more comprehensive than on English language networks. The reason is that English news is targeted to U.S. viewers while Spanish news is designed to reach viewers in many countries. There is little question about the vitality of Spanish language media in the United States. The situation is contrary to what has occurred historically with non-English media. In most cases, they decline in number and importance—and eventually disappear—as the group assimilates and abandons its ancestral language. This has not been the case with Spanish nor is it likely to be in the future.

### **The Common U.S.-Latin America Border**

The third unique circumstance of American Latinos—and of their language—is that they share two thousand miles of border with one of the largest countries of Latin America. The geographic juxtaposition of the U.S. and Mexico creates an environment of sociocultural exchange and economic commerce that is unparalleled in the world. In addition to its impact on language and culture, this proximity may help explain a related point: why the "immigrant experience" of Latinos is often different from that of other groups. Because it is easy to return home, many persons who come to the U.S. from Spanish speaking countries do not feel the same pressure as other groups to abandon their home language and culture in favor of a new one.

The significance of a shared border to the maintenance of the Spanish language seems obvious. The U.S.-Mexico border is the longest border in the world between a highly developed and a less developed economy. Hundreds of "maquiladora" plants dot the Mexican side of the border producing products for the American market and linking the two economies ever more closely. Along the border, economic symbiosis is a reality. Neither of the two border economies can survive without the

other and neither could function without the Spanish language.

### **The Persistence of Immigration**

Still another unique circumstance concerning Spanish and Latinos is that Hispanic immigration is not a phenomenon of the historical past as it is for most language groups. It is a continuous and continuing event. Spanish speaking people enter the country in a steady stream every day. Most analysts believe there is no end in sight to this massive transmigration of people. In terms of continuity, rate, and volume of immigration, no parallel exists with any other immigrant group in the history of the United States. The continuous influx of Spanish speakers, many of whom are monolingual, strengthens the Spanish language, refreshing its currency on a daily basis and assuring its continued vitality.

The U.S. Census Bureau has estimated that the White population of the United States will stop growing after 2029 and begin a slow decline (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992). Hodgkinson (1992) believes that, the most important source of workers for the American work force will be immigrants, most of them from Latin America. He estimates that of those people who will leave Latin America at that time, 85 percent will come to the United States. Most of those workers will probably have only a limited command of English and will continue to speak Spanish. The current rates of growth of the Latino population indicate that, by the middle of the twenty-first century, the percentage of Latino Americans will more than double (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992).

### **The Geographical Distribution of Latinos**

Yet another factor that makes Spanish unique is its degree of territorial spread and density as contrasted with other languages. The Hispanic Policy Development Project (1990) reported in 1990, that there were 27 major concentrations of Hispanics in the U.S. Each of these "markets" contained more than 50,000 Latinos and the seven largest had more than 500,000 Latinos each. Once again, there are no counterparts with any other language group.

The case of Puerto Rico deserves special mention in any discussion of the territorial importance of Spanish. Since becoming part of the U.S. in 1898, Puerto Rico has operated politically as somewhat less than a state but, arguably, something more than a colony. Its political relationship is obfuscated by the title of "Commonwealth," a term which is also used by several states but which means something quite different

in the case of Puerto Rico.<sup>3</sup> Aided by this ambivalent political relationship and its geographic distance from the continent, Puerto Rico has been able to maintain Spanish as its *lingua franca* and the primary language of instruction in the schools. While there is strong public sentiment on the island for seeking American statehood, there is little public sentiment for abandoning Spanish.<sup>4</sup> In a scenario of future statehood, Puerto Rico could become a bilingual state, a state in which English and Spanish are in common use in education, government, commerce, and the daily life of its citizens.

## MAKING SPANISH A SECOND NATIONAL LANGUAGE

### The Rationale

Taken together, the circumstances of Spanish speaking and Spanish speakers support my argument that the Spanish language is an important language in the United States and should therefore have a higher profile in American education. Because they comprise the primary mechanism for preparing society for its future, schools are an appropriate venue for grounding the process of adapting and adjusting to a new linguistic reality: the emergence of a second national language. What is needed is a total redefinition of the place of Spanish in the curriculum of American schools, a place that is vastly different from what is held in the traditional conception of "foreign languages" in the curriculum. There is ample reason to believe that Spanish should no longer be regarded as a "foreign" language. Its popularity and widespread use, both here and in the hemisphere, argue for a different status. While no adequate term exists to describe the status I am proposing, it may be generally described as "a second national language" or "most favored language," second only to English in the curriculum.

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<sup>3</sup> In this context, the Spanish equivalent of "commonwealth" is *estado libre asociado*, or associated free state.

<sup>4</sup> As this article was written, Puerto Rico held a popular plebiscite on the question of political status. The election showed strong sentiment in favor of statehood but the outcome of the vote was slightly in favor of the Commonwealth Status.

### Historical Context for Language Diversity in Education

There is no useful comparison in American history for the recognition of a second national language in or out of the school context. At the outset, the founders of the nation made a special place for the German language. Kloss (1977) reports that many of the documents issued by the Continental Congress were published in English with concurrent German translations. This was a bow to the large and powerful German speaking population of Pennsylvania. The size and political importance of the German group may be surmised by the fact that the German language press runs of these documents were roughly half of what they were in English (Kloss, 1977). Other languages were used sporadically by the federal agencies, although none have ever been given great prominence. Nor have they been used consistently for long periods of time.

The history of American education in languages other than English has been spotty and much of it has gone unrecorded. Many immigrant groups, including the Spanish speakers in the southwestern states, established schools in which their own languages were used. Few of those schools survived the sweep of English that accompanied the mandatory school attendance laws enacted in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Fishman (1966), Kloss (1977), and Schlossman (1983) have documented the history of German language American schools.<sup>5</sup> More recently, Perlman (1990) published a thoughtful essay and review of the literature on this subject. The case of German is instructive because of its historical roots dating to the colonial period and because it was supported by a large and politically powerful constituency of German immigrants. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, upon reading this material, that German language schooling, in the public schools, was only grudgingly accepted by many Americans. It disappeared with the advent of compulsory schooling laws and the anti-German sentiment of the World War I era. French and Spanish language schools have existed but they were private and/or church related and their histories have not been well documented.

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<sup>5</sup> Fishman's *Language Loyalty in America* (1966) was the first and most influential work of this type. The study was both a history and a document of advocacy for the study of languages. It contains useful suggestions, including language camps for children and youth.

In sum, while other-than-English language schools have existed in the U.S., none but English language schools have survived as public schools. It is instructive to note that when languages have received strong support for use in schools, it has been in instances where the group speaking that language was politically influential at the local and regional level. Until the advent of transitional bilingual programs in the 1960s, no large-scale use of any language, except English, had been made in public schools since the early part of the century.

### Contemporary Positions on Second Language Learning

While no definitive evidence exists on the subject, there are indications that contemporary educators are no more committed to the disciplined and systematic study of languages than is the general public. Many educators espouse the value and merit of learning other languages but stop short of active advocacy for the adoption of formal policies or for additional resources.<sup>6</sup> In the early 1960s, after Sputnik was orbited by the USSR, there was a renewed interest in promoting languages in schools and colleges. Inspired largely by the Soviet example of intensive language study and funded by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, the effort was short-lived, however. Interest subsided rapidly after NDEA funding ended and the American space exploration program was put back on track. In the 1960s, there was an attempt to promote foreign language study in the elementary schools. The movement was generally known by its acronym, FLES. Despite strong advocacy by educators and a substantial body of professional literature (e.g., Andersson, 1969) FLES was neither widely embraced nor wildly successful. Insufficient enthusiasm, a scarcity of teachers trained in FLES, and a national state of distraction with other social issues were major impediments to its success.

It is regrettable that, at the threshold of the twenty-first century, American public schools are little known for their interest or success in

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Jarvis' "The Value of Second-language Learning" (1980), in *Learning a Second Language: The Seventy-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*.

teaching languages.<sup>7</sup> The structure, resources, and organization of foreign language study in public school systems are not adequate for developing total fluency and literacy. Classroom based study of languages, usually for less than an hour a day, Monday through Friday, is the most common model, a model that may be better suited to develop familiarity and appreciation of language than it is to bring about oral and written mastery.

Another weakness of many foreign language programs is that they have few mechanisms for linking their work with the language communities outside the classroom. This unwillingness to recognize the vitality of non-classroom languages outside the classroom is puzzling. In some cases, school people actually discourage the use of home languages outside the classroom. This occurs mainly with language minority children such as Latinos who have a good functional command of their home language but are not yet fluent in English. The stress on English mastery tends to override other considerations and teachers often place greater value on monolingualism, in English, than on bilingualism. The devotion of America's teaching force to the English language extends beyond the classroom. English has become an immensely popular world language. Many Americans believe that, in time, the entire world will speak English and that it is not necessary to invest the time, effort, and resources needed to teach children other languages. Although a direct cause and effect relationship has not been established, the poor record of language study and achievement by American students suggests that this attitude has taken root among school policy makers.

### The Inadequacy of Current Bilingual Education

Contemporary notions of "bilingual education" are not adequate for enhancing the use and study of Spanish in American schools. The two reasons for this are discussed below.

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<sup>7</sup> The problem, as well as some tentative solutions, were documented by U.S. Senator Paul Simon in *The Tongue-Tied Americans* (1980) and in the report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies (1979). According to Simon, he suggested to President Carter that he appoint a blue ribbon panel to look into the low priority given to languages in American schools. Carter appointed a Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies. Regrettably, the report of the Commission was issued close to the end of Carter's presidency and aroused little attention.



*Transitory Nature of Bilingual Education.* First, it is a poorly kept secret that the most common form of bilingual education in U.S. schools—the form which is supported by government funding—is transitional in nature. This type of bilingual education does little to promote the use of Spanish and may actually contribute to an erosion of the home language as a consequence of its ambivalent posture toward the home language. Since its inception in the late 1960s, transitional bilingual education has been the subject of mounting criticism for its weaknesses in promoting functional bilingualism and biliteracy as end goals.

In a recent policy proposal (Stanford Working Group, 1993), representatives from several of the country's education organizations joined in calling for a more enlightened federal policy toward bilingual education, a policy based squarely on the premise that bilingualism is an asset and not a liability. Transitional bilingual education continues to have a strong remedial and compensatory orientation. The policy foundation of this approach—admittedly many practitioners dislike the premise—is the belief that speaking Spanish, or any language, is a handicap that must be corrected by making children proficient in English as rapidly as possible. Officially, most instructional programs supported by Title VII of the Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and by comparable state laws, are not emphatic about preserving the child's home language as a positive attribute on which to build useful academic skills. It is a view of a glass half empty rather than half full. Because of this, many schools attempt to make children fluent in English at the expense of leaving undeveloped their first acquired language.

This limitation is not true of all programs of bilingual education. There are important exceptions, although they are few in number and involve relatively few children (Christian & Mahrer, 1992).

The call for multiculturalism and the affirmation of diversity, and the unique role that Spanish has taken in the United States, demand more proactive steps both in bilingual programming and in the curriculum in general. Many schools cannot easily alter their structure to take advantage of the cultural resources which their children bring with them from home. An important component of my proposal is the modification of bilingual education policies to prevent the loss, to schools and students, of students' home languages. The advocates of bilingual education have gone part of the way in sensitizing the courts, legislators, and other policy makers to the needs of Latinos and other language minority students. What is needed now, especially with respect to Spanish, is a vastly



different and more positive orientation toward language preservation. Curriculum policy must take into account the importance of Spanish in U.S. society and in the western hemisphere and end the unfortunate practice of regarding native knowledge of Spanish as a handicap. This can happen only if its uniqueness is stressed and if tangible steps are taken by the schools to demonstrate that the language is appreciated and valued.

**Melding of All Foreign Languages.** The second policy problem in the current framework of bilingual education is the unfortunate lumping of Spanish with all other immigrant languages for purposes of program policy. This failure to differentiate between the value and importance of Spanish and other languages has been an ill-advised feature of the federal funding program since its inception.<sup>8</sup> The result is that bilingual education legislation today makes no distinctions between the treatment of Spanish and the treatment of other, less frequently spoken, languages. The blurring of differences between the relative value and importance of languages may have been a necessary political accommodation for creating a broader political constituency and stronger political clout in legislative battles. Unfortunately, it has shortchanged Spanish teaching and learning by placing Spanish in the same curriculum category as other immigrant tongues much more rarely used in the U.S.

Advocates of bilingual education and language minority student rights have made an important contribution to language education by pointing out that children who speak other languages encounter unique circumstances in school due to the intense pro-English bias of American schools. That contribution is extremely important, but it is very different from the challenge of placing Spanish in a new perspective. A new conception of bilingual schooling must emerge that gives Spanish a priority position in the curriculum comparable to that of computers, science, mathematics, and other core subjects. This need not be done for other languages. For purposes of education policy, Spanish must be seen as a social as well as a language base. Upon this base, the U.S. can build new ways of improving communications between its English and Spanish

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<sup>8</sup> The first legislative bill introduced, for what later became Title VII of ESEA (S. 428 in the 90th Congress), focused solely on Spanish speaking children and on the use of Spanish in bilingual education. No other languages were mentioned in the bill. This changed due to political exigencies. Prior to passage, the bill was changed to include all languages and language groups.

speaking populations. To bring this about will require more research on teaching Spanish effectively and on ways to maintain and improve the Spanish skills of students who already speak that language. Also needed is a recognition that it is foolish to teach Spanish in a classroom as if it did not exist outside the schoolhouse. The rich Spanish language resources existing outside the schools should be exploited.

### A ROLE FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATORS

Why is promoting Spanish education especially appropriate for the multicultural movement to undertake as opposed to other groups? The answer is simple: the issues raised by this proposal are related to the phenomenon of "national culture." The presence of a growing number of Spanish speakers in the nation means that a national culture that has been strongly linked, historically, to Western Europe, is in the process of acquiring a distinct Spanish accent. In the future, American national culture will have vital links to southern nations as well as western ones, and this transition may be uncomfortable to the institution that is charged with intergenerational cultural transmission, the school. That makes this issue, and my proposal, especially relevant for those who care about the dynamics of pluralism and diversity. The new importance of the Spanish language calls for a fresh new look at the symbols associated with "being American."

The demographics I have reviewed make it abundantly clear that Spanish will not disappear when better methods of teaching English are found. Neither can we assume that, in the future, all Americans will choose to be monolingual speakers of English. By the end of the first quarter of the next century, there will be as many Latinos as African Americans in the U.S. There is no known mechanism for removing the Spanish language from that many people even if there were a reason to do so. It is time to look upon the Spanish language in a new light.

I wish to stress that I do not foresee that Spanish will replace English as the primary national language or *lingua franca*. Neither is it likely that English will lose its primacy as the international language of commerce, entertainment, and education. It can be predicted with some certainty, however, that the political and pedagogical status of the Spanish language will grow in direct relation to: (1) the size and vitality of the Latino population in the U.S., and (2) the strength of relationships

between U.S. Latinos and the rest of the hemisphere.<sup>9</sup> My argument is that American education should respond more "strategically" and thoughtfully to the growing importance of the Spanish language, adapt to its presence, and redefine its place in the curriculum of the schools. The most recent best example of how schools have responded to new societal realities was their integration of micro computers into existing curriculum and teaching strategies in recognition that those devices signaled a dramatic new way of working.

### MOVING FORWARD WITH PURPOSE

What steps can be taken now to begin giving the Spanish language a more prominent role in the curriculum of American schools? The best answers to this question remain to be discovered as a result of continued discussion and examination of options. Some initial steps and activities come quickly to mind, though. Longer term, we may need to consider other actions, perhaps some that require formal changes in curriculum policy.

Some communities may not be prepared at this point to change the status of the Spanish language in their schools. Because the related issue of immigration is volatile, there is a danger that proposals such as this can be overcome by alarmist calls to reduce immigration rather than adapt to it. Perhaps the first and most important step to be taken now is to stimulate discussion among educators and parents, to put the idea on the agenda for fuller analysis and discussion.

#### Teacher Education

Teachers should request of their school districts and professional associations that Spanish become a priority subject for in-service education. Spanish teachers who are already working in the schools should be given opportunities to teach Spanish to other teachers. There should be an increased use of continuing education opportunities through community colleges and four-year institutions. Many universities conduct

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<sup>9</sup> The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) will stimulate the daily interaction between the U.S. and Mexico; much of that interaction will no doubt occur in Spanish.

language programs abroad expressly for teachers who want to become immersed in the language. All of these resources exist in many communities around the country and they can be easily expanded to accommodate larger numbers of teachers. Many states and school districts use continuing professional credits for awarding salary increases to teachers. Spanish should be included as one of the subjects that is recognized for this purpose. By increasing the number of school personnel who are involved with Spanish as a useful professional tool, it is freed from the foreign language "box" and its importance across the curriculum receives greater recognition.

Happily, the Spanish language is not a scarce commodity. It exists among millions of Latino youngsters and parents who use it on a daily basis. This creates a rich resource for schools and communities, a resource which has not been shared widely with monolingual speakers up to now. Creative methods must be invented to make it easier to transfer language resources between the two groups. Opportunities should be created for teachers to study and use Spanish in other contexts outside of classroom. This will have the added advantage of helping Latino families understand that their language is valued and that it is not necessary, or advisable, for their children to relinquish the Spanish they already know. A variety of such "promotional" measures is needed to reverse decades of disregard and low valuing of Spanish by school society.

### **Validation of Spanish Skills**

Another "easy step" for schools to follow is to promote the use of Advanced Placement Examinations in Spanish to help Latino students validate their language in an academic context and see that it is valued in a tangible and direct way. This could have the added benefit of encouraging Latino youngsters to cultivate their home language as a school subject. Short, intensive courses in Spanish should be developed to prepare Latino youngsters to participate more widely in the Advanced Placement program.

Schools should also recognize the importance of Spanish by giving Latino youngsters opportunities to teach their language to younger children and to offer them appropriate rewards for doing so. Counselors and teachers should take every opportunity to encourage Latino students with strong Spanish language skills to enter careers such as teaching, marketing, and journalism where the Spanish language is an asset.

### Increased School-Community Interaction

In the community, schools and school districts should exploit the many opportunities that exist to work with colleagues and institutions in other nations. Several Spanish speaking countries have created outreach mechanisms to disseminate their language and cultures abroad. These mechanisms are similar in purpose to the Goethe Institute and L'Alliance Française. Spain has created the Instituto Cervantes and more recently, Mexico has established "cultural institutes" (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1993) in most major U.S. cities; among their primary functions is the teaching of Spanish. An advantage of these mechanisms is that they are easy to access and do not require formal and complex arrangements between governments.

A far-reaching step that could be taken by schools and teacher groups is outreach to leaders of Latino communities around the country to explore mutually beneficial relationships. There are many persons in the Latino community who would like to learn English and many educators who need to learn Spanish. The possibilities for "trading off" are fairly obvious. Many Latino communities in the U.S. include people who were trained as teachers and who have functioned in that capacity in their native countries. Many of them are no doubt willing and able to teach Spanish to their colleagues here. Because of the pervasive preoccupation with teaching licenses and credentials, it may turn out that churches, synagogues, and community groups are in a better position to expedite these arrangements than are schools or colleges. I stress that I am not talking here about taking courses for college credit; I am talking about trying to learn a language. The two concepts are not synonymous. The greatest majority of people in the world do not learn languages through college and university courses, although university courses are clearly the best option for advanced study and specialization.

### CONCLUSION

The United States is almost alone among nations in its halfhearted approach to language education, especially to Spanish, its second most used language. A pervasive complacency about the hegemony of English may be the root cause. But the issue of English hegemony is an unfortunate distraction. Most observers agree that, if any language succeeds in becoming a global *lingua franca*, it is likely to be English.

This should not deter American educators from continuing to promote the study of other important languages. The unique multinational composition of the U.S. calls for higher levels of insight, tolerance, sensitivity, and understanding than do single-culture nations. In a multicultural democracy, children must learn to view their social environments from more than one perspective. Creating multiple perspectives requires the use of more than one language, for it is through symbolization—the use of language for abstract thinking—that it is possible to entertain more than one point of view. This cannot be accomplished through a passive acknowledgment of the importance of Spanish or by merely tolerating its existence.

The evidence of demographic trends speaks to the growing significance of Spanish in the U.S. As the number of Latinos increases, the Spanish language will become the second national language of the United States. Most American children who are now in school will have to communicate, as adults, with people who speak Spanish. Unless they acquire the skills for doing so, they will find it difficult to understand the demographic changes taking place around them. They may find it impossible to converse with their neighbors across the street or with co-workers on the job. In short, they will be poorly served by their education if they are not taught Spanish.

In its final report, President Carter's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies (1979) lamented that "Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is getting worse." There is little if any evidence that the situation has improved much in the 14 years since that report was prepared. Given its domestic and hemispheric importance, it may be that our collective neglect of Spanish has been worse than it has for other major languages of the world. In this article, I have suggested that it is an appropriate time to revisit the issue of language education in U.S. schools with a special emphasis on Spanish, the most commonly spoken language in the western hemisphere. The rising number of Spanish speakers within the United States suggests that an honest and searching dialogue on this subject is needed, with a view to placing Spanish in a more prominent role in the curriculum of U.S. schools.

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**PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
FOR AN EDUCATION  
THAT IS MULTICULTURAL:  
THE CROSS-CULTURAL INTERDISCIPLINARY  
COOPERATIVE LEARNING (CICL) MODEL**

**Marietta Saravia-Shore**

**INTRODUCTION**

How can teachers be meaningfully involved in their own professional development? How can we, as educators, overcome our ethnocentrism, be it Eurocentric or Afrocentric, and develop respect for the multiple perspectives of cultures other than our own? Can we understand our own culture better by comparing it to that of others? How can we be inclusive of multiple cultural perspectives without being superficial? How can staff of a university and staff of a school district office collaborate effectively in multicultural curriculum development?

After two years of collaboration, the staff and teachers participating in Project CICL (Cross-Cultural Interdisciplinary Cooperative Learning) now have the experience needed to address these questions. We have created a process of collaborative professional development that, according to discussions and written evaluations by the teachers involved, has empowered the teachers as curriculum developers.

Project CICL's focus is professional development for education that is multicultural. The collaborative consists of the Cross-Cultural Literacy Center of the Institute for Urban and Minority Education (IUME) at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Community School District Five, Manhattan. CICL has done intensive work with two groups of dedicated District Five elementary teachers (18 the first year and ten the second). A replication with ten equally committed elementary and middle school teachers of District Four, Manhattan, began in March 1993.

This paper presents a description of Project CICL's collaborative curriculum development process, as well as the participating teachers' perspectives on that process, by drawing upon program evaluations they wrote over the course of the two years.

## THE CICL PROCESS

### Overview

Project CICL is a year-long professional development program for teachers through collaborative construction of multicultural curricula. It is an outgrowth of a vision and the collaboration of Community School District Five's Multicultural Program and the professional development programs of the IUME Cross-Cultural Literacy Center. Our vision is that elementary and middle school teachers, students, and members of the community, including parents and university instructors, are all resources for one another. Integral to this vision is the promotion and modeling of cooperative learning approaches and cross-cultural comparison. CICL, our acronym, is pronounced "cycle." It was chosen because cycles are recurrent, without beginning or end, and thus is a metaphor for the interrelatedness of all things—reflected in our interdisciplinary approach. An interdisciplinary curriculum is advocated in order to encourage learners to explore the relationships among disciplines, integrate the learning of skills with content, and make learning more coherent. Cross-cultural comparison is integrated with an interdisciplinary approach as a way of looking at a theme across cultures, thereby yielding multiple perspectives on that theme.

Project CICL was developed as a comprehensive effort to connect the required social studies concepts and curriculum to literature and the visual and performing arts. This served to expand the repertoire of teachers' classroom strategies to meet the diverse needs and strengths of

their ethnically and racially diverse students. This mission for the project was arrived at collaboratively by staff of the Cross-Cultural Literacy Center and Dr. Sandra M. Epps, Community School District Five Multicultural Social Studies Coordinator, at a planning meeting in September of 1991:

To design a multicultural framework for social studies for Community District Five using cross-cultural, interdisciplinary and cooperative learning approaches. This framework will be guided by the New York State Social Studies guidelines, the New York City Essential Learning Outcomes and the Chancellor's Action Plan for Multicultural Education. Project staff and teachers will collaboratively develop sample social studies units for grades 4, 5, and 6 which will be linked to communication arts [literature] and the visual arts.

In the first phase of the project, from September 1991 through June 1992, CICL staff worked with 18 District Five elementary teachers in a process of professional development through collaborative construction of multicultural curricula. The project provided staff support; resources; model curricula; a theoretical framework; and a forum for discussion, sharing, and collaboration among teachers to develop interdisciplinary units that relate social studies concepts to the multiple perspectives of literature and the visual arts. The second phase consisted of: (1) a professional development component to guide CICL graduates to become turn-key trainers in their schools, (2) the replication of the process with a second group of ten District Five teachers, and (3) the replication with a new group of ten District Four teachers. The implementation of Project CICL among District Five teachers was originally funded by a grant to the IUME Cross-Cultural Literacy Center from the Aaron Diamond Foundation. District Four's replication was funded by a grant from the New York City Public Schools' Office of Multicultural Education.

In the first year, most of the teachers were African American, which reflected the majority of the District Five's student body. One teacher was Latina, one was of East European background, and one was of European American ancestry. Fourteen were women; four were men. The teachers ranged in teaching experience from two years to more than

20. All teachers participated in the project on a voluntary basis, after selection from a pool of 74 applicants based on criteria of diversity (in ethnicity, age, years of teaching, etc.) and commitment to the following written agreement: (1) to attend after-school professional development workshops, (2) to be observed and videotaped in their classrooms, and (3) to write a unit using New York State and New York City social studies syllabi and the District's Pacing Calendar. Foundation funds covered a stipend for teachers' participation time in the workshops.

The Teachers College staff members who planned and implemented the CICL project were also of diverse backgrounds. During the first year we were African American, Anglo-American/Latina, and Latina, joined by the District Five Multicultural Coordinator who is African American. The second year the Multicultural Coordinator of District Four, a Latina, joined the project planning team. The four men and six women teachers from District Four included African Americans, Eastern Europeans, an Irish American, and Latinos.

The first year of the project included 16 professional development workshops, of which three were museum visits. Staff visited 16 classrooms and videotaped ten of the classrooms. During this period, 13 Project CICL teachers (72 percent) completed 14 curriculum units, which were shared with the total group. In the second year, by June 1993, all ten of the District Five teachers had completed a curriculum unit as did nine of the ten District Four teachers, even though their time span for the workshops was only three and a half months.

### The CICL Curriculum Model

In developing the curriculum model, Project CICL staff wanted to ensure that the units would not be supplementary but integral to the curriculum required by New York State. Furthermore, we wanted the curriculum units to reflect the intent of the report, *One Nation; Many Peoples* (New York State Social Studies Review and Development Committee, 1991), that different cultural traditions would illustrate basic concepts and principles leading students to develop the "independent capacity independently to analyze, manipulate, synthesize and critically interpret information in the interest of problem solving" (p. 69). A suggested format was provided to the teachers that began with basic concepts required at each grade level by the New York State Syllabus for Social Studies, such as *interdependence, culture, power, and change*, which were extended through literature and arts of the culture and time

period being studied. Teachers were also provided with a Social Studies Pacing Calendar for their grade, developed by the District Co-Director Dr. Epps, that provided more structure and direction for the teachers, since it specified topics and Essential Learning Outcomes from the New York City Public Schools social studies syllabus on a monthly basis.

Consistent with its title, the Cross-Cultural Interdisciplinary Cooperative Learning (CICL) Project Curriculum Model is constituted of the following components:

(1) *A Cross-Cultural Approach.* A cross-cultural comparative approach means learning more about one's own culture through comparison with other cultures to discover similarities and differences. Students learn about the multiple cultural solutions to shared human needs by comparing how people organize to meet those needs, solve problems, and construct meaning in different cultures. The definition of culture that informs our work with the teachers is derived from anthropology. The theoretical framework for the study of cultures includes Geertz' (1973) search for cultural meanings communicated through symbol systems; Hall's (1967, 1968, & 1977) description of much of culture as a *Silent Language*, a non-verbal communication system; and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) analysis of the way language shapes perception and interpretation through the *Metaphors We Live By*. The anthropological frame also situates a culture historically, looking for continuity as well as changes in every culture over time, particularly changes that occur through cultures in contact.

The project is guided by the work of Saravia-Shore and Arvizu (1992) on *Cross-Cultural Literacy*. Teachers are encouraged to: (1) look at each culture's symbol systems, such as images within a culture's visual arts and architecture; and (2) listen to the voices of the members of a culture in their literature, music, songs, and original documents to discover meanings from their perspectives which are often missing in social studies textbooks. Social history, the everyday lives of ordinary people, is encouraged as a basis for understanding history from multiple perspectives. Literature and original documents from people of different genders, socioeconomic levels, ethnic and racial groups are suggested. The New York City Public Schools' *Seventh Grade Social Studies: A Multicultural Perspective* is suggested as a model for the use of social history. Finally, the importance of the social organization of the classroom is emphasized and structuring cooperative learning situations is suggested.

A model curriculum unit, "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Algonquian and Iroquois," developed by Saravia-Shore, which included cross-cultural, interdisciplinary, and cooperative learning activities, was distributed to each teacher; and the cross-cultural and cooperative learning approaches to social studies were discussed and modelled. In cooperative learning groups of "Iroquoian" and "Algonquian" speakers, teachers with roles of "researcher," "recorder," and "reporter" researched, wrote, and graphed a cross-cultural comparison of the utilization of the natural environment for food, dwellings, tools, and transportation. This activity also demonstrated the diversity among Native Americans of the Northeast Woodlands.

During the workshops, staff also contextualized a culture in its regional, geographical, and ecological base, and looked at the symbol systems (visual as well as numerical and verbal) through which communication of meaning takes place. The visual images of cultures from rock art to computer icons are graphic symbol systems that are significant in communication. This is one of the rationales for an interdisciplinary exploration of social studies themes: students become more visually literate with exposure to and discussion of visual symbols of different cultures. Visual imagery also expresses what is significant to a culture.

Teachers were encouraged to use cross-cultural comparison so that students could begin to see cultures as communication systems, and, through comparison, see similarities as well as differences. This concern with visual communication led to the project staff's collaboration with museums. Guided by Epps' dissertation (1989) on museum education, project staff arranged for teachers' guided visits to museums to encourage the teachers to take their students.

During the first year, in order for teachers to see a memorable example of cross-cultural comparison, Project CICL arranged for a workshop at the Jewish Museum's exhibit, "Bridges and Boundaries: African Americans and American Jews." This cross-cultural comparison of two groups' responses to racism and discrimination was exhibited through photographs, documents, recordings, and artwork. The second year, the PBS series, "Dancing," was suggested as a vivid example of cross-cultural comparison of the varying functions that dance performs in different societies.

(2) *An Interdisciplinary Approach.* Project CICL was also informed by Jacobs' (1989) work on interdisciplinary curricula



development, and staff guided teachers through the process Jacobs suggests for writing interdisciplinary units. Teachers first selected a theme from the social studies topics for their grade, brainstormed possibilities related to it, and then recorded them in a semantic web. The web below was developed by Saravia-Shore based on District Four teachers' brainstorming during a workshop. Questions were posed concerning the theme to guide research. Related children's literature was then selected, as were activities, such as researching, interviewing, writing and illustrating the students' writing, graphing comparisons, categorizing specific styles of music, planning a museum visit or visit by a community artist to demonstrate the art of a culture, and performing or attending a play that dealt with the theme.



In the workshops, social studies concepts served as the base, linked to relevant visual art and adult and children's literature drawn from the cultures and historical periods being studied. Using examples from paintings and photographs, Saravia-Shore shared the theoretical frame of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), showing how cultures can be thought of as a peoples' *relationships* to nature, to the spiritual, and to one another. For example, the respectful relationship of the Japanese to nature can be seen in various art forms, from Haiku to Ikebana (flower arrangement), to bonsai trees, to the arrangement of gardens. In contrast to a traditional French garden where nature conforms to geometrically determined patterns, traditional Japanese gardens follow nature. A raked stretch of sand surrounding rocks symbolizes the sea around islands (or the clouds around mountain peaks) to encourage reflection and meditation. The Japanese respect for aged trees can still be seen today in the crutches that the Japanese use to prop up the branches of the oldest of trees. Similarly, the relationships among people can be seen in artworks. Prints showing Japanese life at different historical periods allow us to see people interacting in context, such as mothers coming together to bathe their children as a group social activity.

*(3) A Cooperative Learning Approach.* Johnson and Johnson's (1982) work provided models of cooperative learning. The rationale for including cooperative learning is threefold: (1) to increase the range of teaching approaches in teachers' repertoire to respond to the various learning styles of their students, (2) to encourage more active engagement in academic learning by students, and (3) to structure situations where students can learn the social skills involved in collaboration with peers. Cooperative learning was modeled by the CICL staff who often presented as a team and often asked participants to work as teams. Staff also elicited from teachers their approaches to whatever topic was being learned.

Since cooperative learning was not part of their own schooling, teachers were provided with opportunities in the workshops to experience participation in such groups. Working in groups of three or four, given different roles and responsibilities to meet a common goal, teachers were learning an important aspect of cooperative learning—that each person in the group has a role that carries with it a responsibility for contributing to the completion of a shared task. They also experienced interdependence among group members and the need for social skills—to

communicate clearly, trust one another, assume initiative, negotiate, encourage and assist one another, and manage conflict. Time was allotted for the groups to "process" how their group was doing. After participation in small and larger group situations teachers could evaluate this approach for their classrooms.

Several sessions were also structured so that the benefits of collaboration among teachers would be experienced. District Five teachers collaboratively developed a curriculum unit on the Harlem Renaissance. Each year, one CICL workshop was held at the Schomburg Center for Research on Culture and every teacher received a copy of the Harlem Renaissance Portfolio of photographs and resource materials: *Harlem 1900-1940: An African American Community* (Lindo, 1991). During a subsequent workshop, Saravia-Shore modeled the development of a semantic web with each teacher selecting one aspect of the Harlem Renaissance period and developing a lesson plan. During the following session, the CICL staff returned their lesson plans in typed form with recommendations for strengthening the lessons as well as the suggestion that they swap lessons with another teacher who could let his or her partner know what needed to be added to make the lesson specific enough for another teacher to use. Afterwards, the revised lesson plans were compiled so that each teacher could be provided with the lesson plans of all the other teachers and everyone could experience the benefits of collaborative curriculum development.

Another way of encouraging the development of curriculum units that were rich in content and resources was to provide teachers with model units. The Native American unit, for example, included maps; a chronological table; visual illustrations of a creation legend of the Iroquois, "The Woman Who Fell From the Sky;" references to the "Resource" published by the Museum of the American Indian; references to *The Great Tree and the Longhouse*, by anthropologist Hazel Hertzberg; and a bibliography of teacher resources and children's literature. Visits to two museums were suggested, and the workshop on Native Americans was followed by an optional group visit to the Museum of the American Indian by participants.

#### The CICL Professional Development Model

The CICL professional development model is one that Sparks and Loucks-Horsley (1989) would call *Involvement in a Development/Improvement Process*. Teachers were involved in developing and writing

multicultural curriculum units. They were engaged in realizing a district goal: to implement education that is multicultural. This relatively new initiative throughout New York City began in 1989 with the Board of Education's Policy on Multicultural Education. It gained momentum in 1990 with the Chancellor's Action Plan for Multicultural Education. Teachers in both districts knew that they were breaking new ground in the curricula they were developing.

The CICL staff development model has four characteristics. It is experiential, collaborative, personally supportive, and performance-based.

(1) *Experiential*. The CICL staff plan activities to engage the teachers so that they experience the process and benefits of the approaches being suggested. As described previously, in workshops staff provide hands-on activities and simulations, and model the teaching/learning approaches that teachers are expected to learn. Teachers thus experience cooperative learning activities, where they work in groups interpreting, recording, and synthesizing information, and communicating that information to their group members verbally and in graphs. They go through the process of developing interdisciplinary themes. They also visit museums and see staff model approaches to observing, interpreting, and analyzing visual art forms.

(2) *Collaborative*. CICL staff development is collaborative in several ways. The workshop sessions frequently served as a forum for teachers to share their experiences and approaches, sometimes as co-presenters. The staff development model we followed was a process of first eliciting from teachers, in small group discussions, their understanding of a concept or approach. In the first sessions, CICL Staff Developer Pamela Crowley led teachers in cooperative learning activities where small groups discussed multicultural education and came to a shared definition. One member of each group reported the group's definition back to the whole workshop. Staff then presented selected definitions from the field by Banks (1979), ASCD (1992), Baker (1983), and Sleeter and Grant (1987). Subsequently, teachers were given the time to revise their own definition if these definitions provided additional suggestions.

In addition to informal sharing, each year the teachers were also asked to co-present with CICL staff at the workshops. In classroom visits by staff, teachers were identified and asked to share their particular approach with the rest. In this way the goal of developing the teachers' confidence as presenters and turn-key trainers was also furthered.

Some students were brought to the workshops to report on their experiences of cooperative learning. This proved so successful that the first group of District Five teachers decided to include more student presentations during the Open House they planned as the culminating workshop of the project.

Collaboration between the staff of the district and the university was furthered by the similar goals and shared vision of Project Co-Directors Epps and Saravia-Shore. We share a respect for James Banks' definition of education that is multicultural and systemwide, a similar vision of the importance of the inclusion of the arts and museums as resources in education, and a vision of enriched education for *all* students that is currently reserved only for those defined as "gifted and talented." With Gardner (1983), we believe that everyone has multiple intelligences that will develop to their fullest only if given an education of enrichment, opportunity, challenge, at least two languages, and multiple perspectives.

Collaboration with museums was another important aspect of CICL. In the first year, the CICL project planned seven visits to museums. Three visits were required workshop activities (to the Museo del Barrio, the Schomburg Center for Research in Culture, and the Jewish Museum) so that teachers could experience the resources that each institution has to offer for an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural curriculum. Four optional visits to the Metropolitan Museum on Saturdays were arranged and led by CICL staff or a museum docent. Each year, District Five's Multicultural Coordinator arranged a series of workshops and tours of the collections presented at the Metropolitan Museum by their Museum Education staff for District Five teachers.

Collaboration with the teachers meant that we modified the scope of the project in response to teacher requests. The teachers evaluate each session, thus shaping subsequent sessions. The CICL staff have an explicit agenda: diversifying teaching approaches to meet students' diverse learning styles through the CICL curriculum model. During the first year, staff presented that agenda of teaching strategies with a menu of some optional topics. The teachers selected, through voting, those that reflected their own professional goals. However, content, not only strategies was also modeled. Integrated with the teaching approaches, staff presented some aspects of the history of African Americans in Harlem, Native Americans of the Northeast, a comparison of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic through their visual arts, a "History of Japan through

Its Arts," and a "Cross-Cultural Comparison of Three Celebrations: Hanukkah, Kwanzaa, and Three Kings Day."

(3) *Personal Interaction/Support.* In an attempt to involve the teachers and to encourage their ownership of the project, one of the first activities was to elicit their professional goals for themselves and their students. Each took time to reflect and write their goals. We also discussed the district's goals in the project's mission statement since the project was developed to meet those goals as well as their own. Through ongoing workshop evaluations, the CICL staff responded to the interests expressed by the teachers and thus modified the original scope and sequence of topics. The first year, each of the Teachers College CICL staff took responsibility for working closely with a set of six teachers: the teachers were contacted in the evening; lent books, photos, and artifacts; and the CICL staff member was available to work with each individually, review their drafts of the units and give feedback, videotape their classrooms, and sometimes just talk. They decided together how to facilitate the process of designing and implementing the unit.

Visiting the teachers in their classrooms was an important component of the first year of the CICL program, it helped build a relationship between the teachers and the staff. Going to the site also allowed project staff to observe the classroom environment, student-teacher interaction, and teacher use of instructional strategies and techniques in the social studies content area. Further, being in the schools provided the CICL staff with an opportunity to meet the principals and the students and to explain aspects of the program that would relate to them, such as videotaping the students and their teacher during some of the lessons, and working with the staff who occasionally co-taught lessons with their classroom teacher.

(4) *Performance-Based Assessment.* The CICL staff development model is performance-based. The project was structured so that the teachers experienced authentic assessment themselves. Instead of requiring a final test or a paper from the teachers, the project asked teachers to develop a curriculum unit that incorporated three aspects of the CICL model. Teachers were responsible for the development of several products: a lesson, a unit outline, and a completed unit. After trying out the format of the lesson plan and curriculum unit outline during the workshops in which they wrote lessons on the Harlem Renaissance, teachers wrote a curriculum unit of their choice appropriate to their grade. Through completing a unit using the CICL Curriculum



Unit Outline, and trying out the unit with their students while being videotaped by CICL staff, teachers demonstrated that they had learned the model. Since staff suggested authentic/performance-based (or portfolio) assessment of their students, this enabled teachers to experience it firsthand.

Another important aspect of the CICL project is the use of a videotape camera to record the workshop sessions with the teachers and to document the implementation of the interdisciplinary classroom lessons and learning experiences developed by teacher participants. Videotaped sessions of the workshops allowed the CICL staff to evaluate their training activities, as well as to further ascertain the reactions, questions, and concerns of the project participants. Once the classroom teachers began to implement their curriculum units in the classroom, some of the lessons were videotaped to record the content and instructional strategies in actual practice with the students. Some of these tapes were used for staff development in the second year of the project in District Five to illustrate the implementation of cooperative learning and interdisciplinary multicultural units. The videotaping proves to be a valuable resource for assessing and highlighting the work of both project staff and teacher participants and the project's effects on students.

### TEACHERS' MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IDEAS AND PRACTICES

The participants in the project completed evaluations of each of the sessions as well as a final, overall Program Assessment. The Program Assessment, which was completed anonymously, had two parts: one was an open-ended series of questions; the other was a structured evaluation form concerning the workshop organization and the workshop outcomes. Participating teachers were asked several open-ended questions on the Program Assessment given at the end of the first full year of the project to elicit their evaluation of the implementation of the project as it concerned multicultural practice.

#### Project Evaluations

Below are the responses of District Five teachers who participated in the whole cycle of the first year of the Project, including their classroom implementation and videotaping of their units. In response to

the question, How did the project inform your ideas and practices with respect to multicultural education and particularly the development of social studies curriculum?, most teachers responded that they had become more aware of other cultures. One teacher responded, "My mind is increasingly more open to other people's cultures. As a result of what happened in these workshops I shall be in a better position to teach the children to live in a world such as ours."

Two others concurred, "The study of different cultures is very important in today's society, especially when our society has become so richly diverse. Multicultural education has taught me so many things and my interest continues to grow." The other wrote, "There is a great need for a curriculum of inclusion that accurately describes world cultures' contributions."

Another teacher highlighted the museum visits. "My expectation of CICL was that I looked forward to finding out what was meant by "cross-cultural" from your point of view. My expectations were met because my mind was opened up as a flower when it blooms. For example: the trips to the museum which centered on the different cultures. I have never before thought so deeply about those cultures."

Another theme among the teachers' responses to this question was that social studies is an appropriate teaching vehicle for education that is multicultural. One teacher said, "The project has helped me to focus and begin to develop my social studies curriculum. I found that the workshops on the Native Americans and celebrations were excellent. I would encourage even more of this next year. I am glad that I was a part of this project and found it to be a thought provoking, rewarding experience." Another noted that she had "realized the importance of implementing a social studies education...the children receive a wealth of information and develop an appreciation of other cultures." Another responded, "Providing the group with ELOs and state requirements made us more aware of what is required for the students to learn. This enables the teacher to inculcate multicultural aspects not included in the curriculum."

The views of a new teacher can be contrasted to those of two who came to the project with multicultural approaches. "I am a new teacher and have taught from the assigned social studies text. These workshops have strengthened and improved my ability to teach." Some of the teachers became more committed and informed concerning multicultural education. In informal conversations, two teachers noted that they volunteered to teach education that is multicultural in their district;

they have Saturday classes for students on the similarities and differences between African culture and Native American culture. Two other teachers who worked together in one school on the same topic for their curriculum units said that they are forming a Task Force on Multicultural Education to spread the word in their school.

In their qualitative responses to the Program Assessment, the District Five first year teachers offered criticisms and indicated what had worked for them. In this latter category they emphasized: (1) the opportunity to share ideas with each other; (2) the extensive information and resources on the cultures provided by staff; (3) techniques, methodology and activities to implement the curriculum, such as cooperative learning; (4) visits to museums; (5) personal support; and (6) stimulating and thought-provoking experiences. These are some examples of their comments:

Cooperative learning strengthened my skills as a teacher.

I found it to be the most rewarding learning experience in my professional training. The multicultural program has exposed me to cultural information I would not have researched of my own interest.

The workshops provided teachers with the opportunity to share their interests and... to define what is multicultural education. Once we were able to come to a consensus as to what multicultural education means to the group, then we were shown how cooperative learning activities can enhance teaching instruction.

The CICL project has given the teachers involved an opportunity to present valuable information in an interesting manner. With the group activities, presentations of teaching methods, field trips to museums and educational institutions each teacher has been given a precise picture of the meaning of multicultural education. For example, greeting cards can be used to show the culture of a particular ethnic group. The teachers must realize that there is a wealth of knowledge on the culture of people. Through research and analysis the teachers and the student will learn more and become

more aware of the lifestyle of people.

The CICL project has been a learning, sharing experience for me. Learning about the ways people share information, and arriving at a conclusion. The workshops given were very well thought out and information abundant. Staff were always cooperative with necessary information and materials for the individual projects. The one problem I have is that in developing a multicultural curriculum the most important culture group is "short changed"... —not enough room to explore and document the myriad information of African American people on these shores from the 14th century. Certainly one chapter is not sufficient to explore their history and accomplishments.

Almost all of my expectations were met. I wished that the American Hispanic or Hispanic culture was emphasized more. What about the people who have played and still play a role in developing the Hispanic culture. I also asked at one time about various books for Hispanic children (bibliography).

The criticisms of first year teachers were incorporated in reshaping the second cycle of the project. In the second year, Dr. Jossie O'Neill presented a workshop for District Five teachers (both first and second year cohorts) integrating activities that included children's literature and the visual arts of Puerto Rico, where she was born. A similar workshop was presented for District Four teachers. One of the first year's teachers is writing her second curriculum unit on Puerto Rican culture and one of this year's teachers did a unit on cooking among the Aztecs, Maya, and Inca. Resources and bibliographies of children's literature were expanded—they now include African and African American Art, Latin American Children's Literature, Children's Books from Japan, and Children's Literature by Native Americans.

Several of the teachers also requested workshops on how to do turn-key training. A series of six sessions specifically addressing how to become a staff developer were planned and offered by the CICL staff to the first group of District Five teachers who had gone through the complete process of implementing their curricula. Some of the teachers

preferred to continue developing curricula in the second year rather than conduct professional development in their schools.

The second year teachers had the benefit of seeing the curriculum units that were prepared by the 13 CICL teacher participants and CICL staff the first year. This assisted them in clearly envisioning a final product, and provided evidence that developing curriculum was definitely do-able since other teachers had done so successfully.

### Workshop Evaluations

At the end of every workshop, each teacher filled out an evaluation form which included both easily quantifiable questions on workshop organization and the quality of the presentation, and qualitative questions. The open-ended questions allowed project staff to obtain qualitative responses that directly addressed whatever within the session was valuable to the teachers or could be improved. The teachers were asked to respond to four open-ended phrases: (1) New Ideas I've Gotten, (2) Actions I'm Going to Take, (3) Questions That Have Been Raised in My Mind, and (4) Feelings I've Experienced.

In the second year, a sampling of the responses included the following reactions: Under New Ideas I've Gotten, teachers wrote of "the many benefits of videotaping" and "school wide collaboration" and "collaboration as opposed to competitiveness." They wrote they had a "better understanding of what cross-cultural curriculum is" and "the benefits of cross-cultural comparison," a "wider ranging view of culture" and "specifics on cultures." "I've learned that multiculturalism must be viewed from the point of view of the culture and not from our imposing our values."

Under Actions I'm Going to Take, the most frequent response indicated collaboration with a colleague, such as: "work with other teachers who have similar interests," "take advantage of the strengths of my fellow teachers," "talk to other teachers about sharing information and collaborating on units," "collaborate with colleague on project—got the idea while we were talking," "share with my colleagues," "bring ideas back to teachers," and "be much more sensitive and careful when interpreting other cultural aspects. Discuss it with other teachers."

## RECOMMENDATIONS

What has the CICL staff learned about the process of professional development for education that is multicultural from the experience of two years of close collaboration with the District Coordinators and teachers in the curriculum development process? This section reflects our ongoing discussions of the questions posed in the beginning of the paper; the continuities and changes to be made based on the teachers' evaluations and staff reflections on our practice.

### **Involve Teachers Meaningfully in Their Own Professional Development**

In our collaborative experience we found that teachers can be involved in a significant way in their own and their colleagues' professional development. The interactive forum of the CICL workshops was important. Teachers listened to one another and seemed to learn a great deal from discussions among themselves. They also formed support teams or groups, and in their evaluations mentioned that this was stimulating for them. The turn-key training also worked best in schools where there were at least two teachers who participated in curriculum development. We would therefore encourage teams of at least two teachers from a school to participate so they can provide mutual support for one another.

One of the significant aspects of CICL was that the teachers were perceived and treated by CICL staff as colleagues. Being offered alternatives and asked to shape the sessions through feedback on evaluations and participation in planning meetings was very important in the professional development of the teachers. Asking teachers to be co-presenters was another way of developing their skills and confidence. In the workshops, the teachers who were videotaped implementing cooperative learning and integrating the arts and literature in an interdisciplinary approach, and whose classroom environment showed a cross-cultural approach, were asked to explain these processes to the other teachers. Some were also asked to present to the second group using their videos to illustrate their approaches. Another activity that placed responsibility on the teachers was encouraging and modeling peer coaching by teacher-partners who observed and critiqued videotapes of



each other's classroom practice. At the end of the first year, they decided whether to continue with curriculum development or to do turn-key training.

One aspect of the professional development teachers found important was participation in making changes in their school through curriculum development and turn-key training efforts. They could see and use not only their own curriculum but those their colleagues developed. This collaborative curriculum development modeled cooperative learning and its benefits. The teachers who decided to participate took part in six sessions that CICL staff organized to share staff development models and offer an opportunity for discussion of the teachers' proposed agendas for on-site afterschool staff development. Later they talked about their turn-key training sessions, particularly the change in morale when teachers could break out of the isolation of individual classrooms and meet to learn and develop curriculum together. On one site, teachers were divided into two groups. Each teacher in the group contributed a lesson to a collaboratively developed unit which was then shared with everyone in the group (as the CICL District Five teachers had done with the Harlem Renaissance unit). Our assumption, which is being borne out, is that a teacher's successful practices will be picked up and replicated by other teachers.

In their evaluations of CICL staff development, teachers indicated that it was useful for staff to model and simulate teaching approaches through selected activities during workshops, so that teachers could experience these approaches before trying them out with students. The teachers also expressed as useful the provision of structure through the District Social Studies Pacing Calendar and the CICL Curriculum Unit Outlines. Teachers noted that the time allocated during workshops for writing the curriculum with human and library resources available was supportive.

### **Overcome Ethnocentrism and Develop Multiple Perspectives**

Learning to listen to each other is a start. Going out of the classroom to connect with the cultural institutions in the larger community is also valuable. Teachers expressed their growth in interest and understanding of other cultures through those journeys to the Metropolitan Museum, the Schomburg Center for Research in Culture, the Jewish Museum, and EL Museo del Barrio. The ways that cultures have changed through interaction with one another were illustrated



visually through visits to museums. The modeling of preparation for museum visits through discussion of slides of the artworks has been successful. A sequence was modeled of first asking observers (teachers or students) to interpret for themselves what may be portrayed and how the artwork makes them feel. Later, teachers compared their interpretation with the perspective of members of the culture that produced the artwork through reading or hearing directly from members of the culture who are brought into the classroom.

### **Be Inclusive without Being Superficial**

The cross-cultural interdisciplinary approach assists us in this. Through interdisciplinary work on a theme, the concepts can be better understood; by interpreting the varied perspectives from visual arts, literature, and original documents; and in writing, debates, and graphing the results of questions posed, superficial "coverage" can be avoided. The CICL curriculum unit modeled this approach. Comparing and contrasting a theme in two cultures also leads to greater understanding. Semantic webbing assists in discovering the interconnections and relationships among topics within a theme. Starting with the students' knowledge by asking them to share what they know, then proceeding to their questions, and asking some questions of interpretation and critical evaluation, is the beginning of research projects. The Cross-Cultural Literacy Center and the library of Teachers College were available as resources for children's literature, visual arts, and history of various cultures as well as for modeling research process. Films and videos were identified that provide the historical and ecological context for a culture. *Art Works* — overheads of paintings that are relevant — provided us with a visual record of how people in various cultures at different time periods present themselves and their world view. Depth of understanding of different perspectives, not "coverage" is sought.

### **Make Collaboration between a University and a School District Effective**

The relationship between Districts Four and Five and the IUME Cross-Cultural Literacy Center at Teachers College developed over time. Co-direction by two people, each representing her institution, was important and furthered co-ownership of the project. The co-direction and planning was shared by a district person responsible for multicultural education and the director of the Teachers College Cross-Cultural

Literacy Center. The district co-directors were particularly important in shaping opportunities for district staff to learn about the project and participate in its planning, therefore supporting the teachers when necessary. The District Five Multicultural/ Social Studies Coordinator's participation in planning, feedback, building support, and dissemination was crucial to the project. That support has enabled CICL staff to make presentations to the principals at their monthly meetings, and has led to the principals' support. A principal and an assistant principal participated in the first Open House, praising the project for "supporting teachers' ownership of the curriculum" and publicly noting how the participating teachers from their school had "grown professionally."

The same organizational model was followed in the replication of CICL in District Four where the CICL director teamed with Maritza Lopez, the District Four Multicultural Social Studies Coordinator, in the planning and implementation of the workshops. By arranging meetings with the district administrative staff to both inform them of the process and to gain their input on how it might be best implemented in District Four, Ms. Lopez developed district level support for the project within a three-month period.

The university-district collaboration continues to grow. CICL staff is preparing and editing a manual that provides a curricular framework and guide, including sample units, for cross-cultural, interdisciplinary social studies units. The manual will be distributed first to district personnel and teachers in District Five for a pilot test of its utility and clarity. This manual will also be used as a model for further staff development in the area of multicultural curricular design. District Five has adopted the CICL staff development model for district-wide implementation. Through continuing the processes which teachers have evaluated as having worked and by changing that which they or CICL staff have suggested could be improved, this project of professional development through collaborative curriculum development should, in the future, enable more teachers to construct, with their students, an education that is multicultural.

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## **AFRICAN AMERICAN AND HISPANIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: MYTHS AND REALITY<sup>1</sup>**

**Dawn R. Person**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The involvement of African American and Hispanic women in American higher education has increased over time. Yet, there is still an absence of Black and Hispanic women within the academic community, in many other professions, and in positions of leadership in all professions. This chapter examines some of the historical, economic, and social/cultural issues affecting the participation of Black and Hispanic women in higher education.

There is a general lack of research on Black and Hispanic women in higher education. As a result, myths and stereotypes abound about such students, faculty, and administrators. In 1987, Howard-Vital wrote *Black Women in Higher Education: Struggling to Gain Visibility*, which

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documented this lack of literature. The void, she argued, allows for continued misunderstandings about Black women in colleges and universities, which perpetuates myths about their roles, characteristics, and successes and failures in higher education. Howard-Vital suggested that formulating theoretical frameworks and defining an identity for Black women in higher education were essential to reverse existing misperceptions.

With respect to Latinas, Nieves-Squires' research (1991) has demonstrated that they experience an inhospitable social climate in many colleges and universities, the most disturbing of which is in the area of "collegial social intercourse." She suggests that many people rely on popular culture to provide information about Hispanas and the Hispanic population, and, thus, their perceptions are based on stereotypes. This is important because, according to Nieves-Squires' research, a significant portion of the higher education community has no awareness of Hispanics or Hispanic cultures. Clearly with the continuing increase in the Hispanic population, it is necessary to better understand the Hispanic identity and remove the barriers to Hispanic success in higher education.

What cost do we as a nation pay for failing to provide an inclusive academic community in higher education? In recent years, it has become increasingly apparent that the great diversity of the American population can be an asset for the United States. The stimulus to research and productivity that is generated by full inclusion of minorities and women in higher education would provide the United States with a substantial advantage in global competition (Fernandez & Barr, 1993).

This chapter documents the lack of ethnic and racial diversity in higher education, particularly among women, and discusses the barriers faced by women in higher education. It also provides recommendations for achieving inclusion.

## DEMOGRAPHICS

### General Population

To understand the issues affecting degree completion for African American and Hispanic women in higher education, it is critical to review their demographics. Degree completion comparisons should be considered within the context of population shifts in the U.S. as well as enrollment trends in American higher education.



The U.S. government released reports in the 1980s documenting the swiftly changing demographics of the population, due to birth rates, migration patterns, and immigration trends. Those who had often been referred to as a minority would soon become a third of our nation, and the U.S. could no longer afford to ignore this vast resource of people. If, in fact, no accommodations were made for these changes, then the United States would be a nation at risk, with a significant part of the workforce undereducated, untrained, and unable to support the country's economic system (Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, 1988). These reports also documented the impact of the demographic changes on American society, the workforce, the education system, health care, and other social programs.

Table 1 shows projections of the White, Black, and Hispanic population in the United States from 1995 to 2010. Of these three groups, Hispanics are expected to grow the fastest. The Black population is also anticipated to grow over the next decade, while the White population will increase at a slower rate.

**TABLE 1**

**Projections of Total Population by Race**  
(Thousands of persons)

|      | White   | Black  | Hispanic |
|------|---------|--------|----------|
| 1995 | 216,820 | 33,199 | 22,550   |
| 2000 | 221,514 | 35,129 | 25,223   |
| 2005 | 225,424 | 37,003 | 38,833   |
| 2010 | 228,978 | 38,833 | 30,795   |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce (1991).

**Overall Educational Attainment**

Institutions of higher education in the United States are greatly affected by changing societal demographics. Higher education institutions include two- and four-year public and private colleges and universities. These institutions served over 14.2 million full- and part-time students in 1991. There were approximately 9,983 institutions of higher education in the U.S. in 1991 (U.S. Department of Education, 1992). The number of female students increased by 25 percent between 1980 and 1991 (U.S. Department of Education, 1992). In fact, by 1991, women comprised close to 55 percent of the student population at four year institutions (see Table 2).

**TABLE 2****Total Enrollments in Higher Education by Sex**

|      | Men       | Women     | Total      |
|------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1985 | 5,818,450 | 6,428,605 | 12,247,055 |
| 1987 | 5,932,056 | 6,834,586 | 12,766,642 |
| 1989 | 6,190,015 | 7,348,545 | 13,538,580 |
| 1991 | 6,405,000 | 7,752,000 | 14,157,000 |

Source: National Center for Education Statistics (1992).

The college enrollment of minorities (including only U.S. citizens) increased significantly in the 1980s. Table 3 indicates that the number of African Americans aged 14 to 24 enrolled in college grew from 718,000 in 1980 to 846,000 in 1991. Among Hispanics, the college enrollment growth was higher, rising from 325,00 in 1980 to 526,000 in 1991. Although these statistics indicate that there has been some progress, the picture of minority participation in college remains problematic. A

**TABLE 3****College Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity**  
(in thousands)

|      | White | Black | Hispanic |
|------|-------|-------|----------|
| 1980 | 6,546 | 718   | 325      |
| 1985 | 6,729 | 755   | 391      |
| 1987 | 6,677 | 855   | 463      |
| 1989 | 6,778 | 867   | 470      |
| 1991 | 6,917 | 846   | 526      |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce (1993), p 173.

review of the college enrollment rates of high school graduates in the years after they finish high school shows that the progress of minorities in the 1980s was not as significant.

Table 4 displays the college enrollment rates of White, Black and Hispanic high school graduates the year after they complete high school. Among African Americans, there has been relatively little increase in the college enrollment of high school students right after graduation. This partly reflects social and economic factors inducing African American high school graduates to enter the labor market instead of continuing on to higher education. Another important explanation is the reduction in high school completion rates among African Americans in the United States from 1987 to 1990. As can be seen, the completion rates for African American and Latino women declined significantly during the time period considered. Among men, the African American high school completion rate rose, from 59.6 percent to 55.3 percent. All of these data must be considered in light of the gross increases in the minority

**TABLE 4**

**College Enrollment Rates in Year After Graduation,  
by Race and Ethnicity**  
(in thousands)

|                              | 1980  | 1989  | 1990  | 1991  |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>High School Graduates</b> |       |       |       |       |
| Total                        | 3,089 | 2,454 | 2,355 | 2,276 |
| White                        | 2,682 | 2,051 | 1,921 | 1,867 |
| Black                        | 361   | 337   | 341   | 320   |
| Hispanic                     | 129   | 168   | 112   | 154   |
| <b>Enrolled in College</b>   |       |       |       |       |
| Total                        | 1,524 | 1,436 | 1,410 | 1,420 |
| White                        | 1,339 | 1,239 | 1,182 | 1,207 |
| Black                        | 151   | 178   | 158   | 146   |
| Hispanic                     | 68    | 93    | 53    | 88    |

Source: National Center for Education Statistics (1992), p. 183.

population of this country. The lack of progress in the entrance of African Americans and Hispanics into college immediately after high school graduation means that many pursue higher education later in the life cycle. This deferment produces an immediate labor market disadvantage, since they have to compete for jobs with those who continued their education after graduating from high school.

The data presented suggest the need to increase the participation rate of Black and Hispanic students in the educational pipeline. Furthermore, as Table 6 demonstrates, the number of college degrees earned by Blacks and Hispanics lags substantially behind that of Whites. Retention of minorities in higher education is thus another issue of relevance in this context.

### Sex Differences in Attainment

There has been much discussion in recent years concerning the low participation of African American men in higher education. Often this discussion compares African American men and women, suggesting that the women surpass the men in degree attainment. In fact, there are significant differences in enrollment and graduation rates between African American women and men. The rate of degree attainment among African American women in 1990 exceeded that of men by approximately 2 percent at the high school level, and 24 percent at the college level for baccalaureate degrees, as Tables 5 and 6 indicate.

These data should not be used to justify exclusion of African American women from the center of any discussion on racial issues in higher education, however. First, the greater enrollment and graduation rates of women are not phenomena unique to African Americans. As Tables 5 and 6 suggest, the same pattern emerges among Whites and Hispanics. Second, focusing only on enrollment and graduation rates ignores the fact that men and women specialize in different fields while in college. For instance, the larger number of African American women graduating from college is accounted for by traditional fields, such as health, education, and psychology. More African American men than women are educated for high-paying fields, such as architecture, engineering, and the physical sciences.

Third, and most important, the more accurate comparison is between African American/Hispanic women and women in general. Bearing in mind the significant increase in the number of female students overall in higher education, and the increase in the population of African American and Hispanic women, Black and Hispanic women lag behind in comparison to their White female counterparts. In 1992, 12 percent of Black women and 8.5 percent of Hispanic women had a college degree, as compared with 19.1 percent of White women. Comparing African American and Hispanic women with African American and Hispanic men diverts energy from seeking solutions to the lagging degree completion of Blacks and Hispanics relative to Whites.

### Ethnic and Racial Differences in Attainment

It should be noted here that there are also within-group differences in college enrollment and degree completion that cut across gender lines. For example, among Hispanics, Cubans constitute about 5 percent of the population, yet they have one of the highest percentages

**TABLE 5****High School Completion Rates by Race and Sex**

|       | African<br>American | Hispanics |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1987  | 71.3%               | 59.5%     |
| Men   | 71.3                | 59.5      |
| Women | 80.0                | 63.8      |
| 1988  |                     |           |
| Men   | 71.9                | 52.7      |
| Women | 77.9                | 58.1      |
| 1989  | 72.2                | 52.5      |
| Men   | 72.2                | 52.5      |
| Women | 79.3                | 59.8      |
| 1990  |                     |           |
| Men   | 75.9                | 53.7      |
| Women | 77.8                | 55.3      |

Source: Carter and Wilson (1991).

of college graduates within the Hispanic community. On the other hand, Mexican Americans comprise the largest segment of the Hispanic community in the U.S., but have the lowest college degree completion of all Hispanic cultural groups (Nieves-Squires, 1991).

The demographic data in isolation suggest that the educational

**TABLE 6****Bachelor's Degrees Conferred by Race/Ethnicity and Sex  
(In Thousands)**

|                  | White<br>N-Hisp | Black<br>N-Hisp | Hisp | Asian<br>Pacif | Native<br>Amer |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------|----------------|----------------|
| <b>1988-1989</b> |                 |                 |      |                |                |
| Men              | 407             | 22              | 14   | 19             | 2              |
| Women            | 425             | 36              | 16   | 18             | 2              |
| Total            | 860             | 58              | 30   | 38             | 4              |
| <b>1989-1990</b> |                 |                 |      |                |                |
| Men              | 415             | 24              | 16   | 21             | 2              |
| Women            | 488             | 41              | 20   | 21             | 3              |
| Total            | 883             | 65              | 37   | 42             | 4              |

Source: National Center for Education Statistics (1992), p. 273.

pipeline has many racial and ethnic leakage points, evidenced by the underrepresentation of Black and Hispanic college graduates. This is a historical phenomenon, discussed in the 1950s, studied in 1970s and 1980s, and still of concern in the 1990s. It remains one of the most challenging issues facing American society. Astin (1982), in his study of minorities in higher education, discussed the educational pipeline and identified five major "leakage" points where minority students dropped out. He noted that minorities were lost in greater number than their White counterparts at completion of high school, entry and completion of college, and entry and completion of graduate or professional school. The



tables presented above indicate that the pipeline leaks still exist today.

The leakage approach does not account for all the multiple issues affecting Blacks and Hispanics in American higher education. There are other barriers to degree attainment related to economics, such as financial support for education beyond the high school years; institutional support systems, such as the lack of a Hispanic college system similar to the historically Black colleges; and individual, cultural, and institutional racism and sexism that permeate both society in general and the education system in particular. These issues are discussed next.

### SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Economic status and class structures must be considered in detail to understand the progress of Black and Hispanic women in higher education. In his study of minorities in higher education, Astin (1982) found a positive correlation between family income and student persistence. The lower the parental income, the less likely the student would persist. Historically, many Black and Hispanic women have lived below the poverty line, and given the increase in single parent households headed by women in the 1980s and 1990s, this phenomenon has continued (see Table 7).

Another factor that affects student persistence is parental occupation, which has a positive effect on student persistence relative to career choice (Astin, 1982). Black and Hispanic students whose parents have college degrees and high-paying occupations have strong role models and they are more likely to persist.

The history of segregation in this country, however, has prevented a large portion of the adult Black and Hispanic population from earning a college degree. Many Black Africans were brought to America as slaves during the Colonial period of this country as early as 1619. In 1776, the northern states abolished slavery, but the southern states did not follow suit for economic reasons. There were approximately four million Black slaves in 1860 just prior to the Civil War, but only a half million free African Americans.

Because education was thought to make slaves unruly and rebellious, southern states passed legislation making it illegal to provide slaves with even basic schooling. Therefore, higher education was unattainable for this population.

**TABLE 7****Numbers of Families in Poverty: Female Householders  
with No Husband Present**

|      | All Groups |      | White |      | Black |      | Hispanic |      |
|------|------------|------|-------|------|-------|------|----------|------|
|      | No.        | %    | No.   | %    | No.   | %    | No.      | %    |
| 1986 | 11,944     | 38.3 | 5,171 | 30.6 | 5,473 | 53.8 | 1,921    | 52.9 |
| 1987 | 12,148     | 38.1 | 5,989 | 29.6 | 5,789 | 54.1 | 2,045    | 55.6 |
| 1988 | 11,972     | 35.9 | 5,723 | 28.1 | 5,530 | 49.4 | 1,902    | 50.6 |
| 1990 | 12,578     | 37.2 | 6,210 | 29.8 | 6,005 | 50.6 | 2,115    | 53.0 |

Note: The percentages are for the number of families in poverty as a fraction of all families in the group.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics (1992).

Northern states provided some education in a segregated system, which did not, for the most part, prepare Blacks for higher education. Historical accounts trace a few Blacks during this period who attended European universities, who went to the few northern Colleges that accepted Blacks, or who went to a college created specifically for the education of Blacks. Only about 28 Blacks received degrees from American institutions of higher education prior to 1860, according to Bowles and DeCosta (1971).

Many of the early graduates were sponsored by the American Colonization Society, whose aim was to resettle freed slaves in Liberia, West Africa, to ensure that the country had an educated segment of its population for leadership and economic development. Since that time, Blacks have expanded their presence in higher education, especially

through the development, growth, and leadership of the historically Black colleges and universities.

At the present time, many Black and Hispanic women and children are living at subsistence levels, struggling with poverty and its negative effect on educational attainment (see Table 7). In 1992, 27 percent of all White households were headed by women, while 48 percent of Black households and 28 percent of Hispanic households were female-headed (U.S. Department of Education, 1992). Johnetta Cole, addressing the Association of Black Women Educators in 1988 asserted, "Let it be known that the problem with such households is not that a woman is in charge. The problem is that they are poor households."

For women in poverty, the options for degree attainment are limited, and almost impossible to take advantage of, given the many obstacles and barriers to overcome. Women who opt for postsecondary education as a way out of poverty are confronted with a myriad of challenges and competing responsibilities. Increased degree attainment in higher education will be difficult at best, unless the cycle of poverty is broken.

### STATUS OF BLACK AND HISPANIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Historically, Blacks and Hispanics have been underrepresented in American higher education at all levels—students, faculty, and administrators. Black and Hispanic women were even less significant in the employment statistics until recently, when numbers increased compared to the very low figures for the 1960s and early 1970s. At the present time, African Americans represent about 1 percent of the faculty in United States colleges and universities, and Hispanics constitute 0.6 percent of all United States faculty (Carter & Wilson, 1992).

Carter and Wilson (1992) report that, in 1989, more than half of the higher education labor force consisted of women. However, only 30 percent of the full-time faculty positions were held by women, and they accounted for 44 percent of the non-tenured instructor level faculty and part-time lecturer positions. Salaries for women still lag behind men, earning 94 percent of their male counterparts. Women also have lower-ranking faculty positions, and are less likely than men to be tenured or in tenure track positions.

African Americans held about 12 percent of all higher education positions in 1989. Nearly 85 percent of the 220,277 African Americans employed on college campuses worked in professional support services, and non-professional positions. Of the faculty positions held by African Americans, women represented 47 percent (see Table 8).

Hispanics held approximately 2 percent (10,087) of all faculty positions, and were mostly found in two-year institutions (Carter & Wilson, 1992). Hispanas outnumbered Hispanic men slightly in overall employment in higher education, but most of these positions were non-faculty and non-management. As Table 8 indicates, Hispanic men occupied twice as many faculty positions as Hispanas.

In summary, Black and Hispanic women outnumbered Black and Hispanic men in higher education positions, but these were mostly clerical/non-professional positions. While it is more likely to find a large percentage of all Black and Hispanic employees in higher education holding non-faculty and non-management positions, this trend is even greater for Black and Hispanic women. While the Hispanic population has grown significantly over the past ten years, and while there have also been increases in the higher education workforce, more often than not Hispanics will be in non-professional positions.

African American women and men are represented at about the same level in administrative positions in higher education (see Table 9). However, African American women recently have shown an increase in administrative positions (although their numbers are still low), while the situation for men has remained stable. Currently, Hispanic men outnumber Hispanic women in administrative positions. The percentage of Hispanic administrators (2.3 percent) is relatively low, although there has been some growth over the past decade. Hispanics currently head 3 percent of higher education institutions, despite the increased numbers of Hispanics in this country. Blacks head 5 percent of all higher education institutions, of which approximately 2 percent are predominantly White institutions. This is despite the length of time that Blacks have been involved in higher education, the development and longevity of the historically Black institutions, and the gains of Blacks in the higher education workforce (Carter & Wilson, 1992).

While there have been increases in the number of Blacks and Hispanics in higher education as students, faculty, and administrators, the greatest growth has been in non-professional positions. This raises concerns about the development, nurturing, graduation, hiring, and

**TABLE 8****Full-Time Faculty and Tenured Faculty**

|                     | Full-Time | Tenured |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| Total               | 514,662   | 261,804 |
| Men                 | 358,562   | 204,037 |
| Women               | 156,100   | 57,767  |
| White               | 455,600   | 237,713 |
| Men                 | 319,330   | 186,807 |
| Women               | 136,270   | 50,906  |
| Total<br>Minority   | 58,935    | 24,091  |
| Men                 | 39,232    | 17,230  |
| Women               | 19,703    | 6,861   |
| African<br>American | 23,225    | 9,230   |
| Men                 | 12,483    | 5,375   |
| Women               | 10,742    | 3,855   |
| Hispanics           | 10,087    | 4,472   |
| Men                 | 6,757     | 3,200   |
| Women               | 3,330     | 1,272   |

Source: Carter and Wilson (1991).

**TABLE 9****Full-Time Administrators by Race and Sex**

|                     | Total   | Men    | Women  |
|---------------------|---------|--------|--------|
| Total               |         |        |        |
| 1985                | 120,585 | 78,252 | 42,333 |
| 1989                | 137,561 | 84,382 | 53,179 |
| White               |         |        |        |
| 1985                | 107,162 | 70,472 | 36,690 |
| 1989                | 120,111 | 75,045 | 45,690 |
| Total<br>Minority   |         |        |        |
| 1985                | 13,423  | 7,780  | 5,643  |
| 1989                | 17,450  | 9,337  | 8,113  |
| African<br>American |         |        |        |
| 1985                | 9,124   | 5,003  | 4,121  |
| 1989                | 11,796  | 5,997  | 5,799  |
| Hispanic            |         |        |        |
| 1985                | 2,401   | 1,553  | 848    |
| 1989                | 3,183   | 1,860  | 1,323  |

Source: Carter and Wilson (1991).

promotion of Blacks and Hispanics in general, and women in particular, who are underrepresented as students and professionals.

### OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK AND HISPANIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Hull, Scott, and Smith (1982), in their *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, but Some of Us Are Brave*, affirmed the intellectual void surrounding Black women in relation to the politics of a White male society. Racial, sexual, and class oppression deny the importance of Black women and their contributions to education. The authors remind us that, when we study Black and Hispanic women—whether they are students, administrators, or faculty—we should not assume a deficit model or a handicapped framework. Doing so limits the possibilities for understanding the full range of potential for women of color.

Many studies that were designed for Blacks neglected women and focused on men. Similarly, women's studies often focused on White women to the exclusion of women of color. Smith and Stewart (1983) concluded that the failure to study Black women prevents an understanding of the differences and commonalities between racism and sexism.

Many factors influence the varying experiences of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites in higher education, by sex. Perkins (1983), in her article, "The Impact of the Cult of True Womanhood," suggests that, as early as 1837, Black women were encouraged to get an education for race uplift. Smith (1982) found that Black women tended to have higher scholastic achievement than Black males, but educational and occupational aspirations of Black females declined in college due to sex role stereotyping. Fleming (1983) also looked at social assertiveness among Black women and found that White colleges enhance social assertiveness for Black women while Black colleges seem to be places where women lose assertive abilities by their senior year. Burlew (1982) studied the career paths of Black women and found that the mother's role and work experience were significant in Black women's career choices. She also found attitudinal differences between Black women pursuing traditional careers and those pursuing non-traditional careers: traditional career pursuers were other-oriented, while non-traditional career seekers



were more self-oriented.

For Latinos, Olivas (1986), in his study of Chicanos, found that a disproportionate number of Chicanos began at the community college level, with few transferring to four-year institutions to complete their degree. This was also true for other minority groups. Another issue raised by Olivas was that many of the Chicano students were older and had work responsibilities. These students were less likely to persist to graduation. Thus, socioeconomic background is a critical factor in retention as well as in academic performance and preparation.

The importance of role models and mentors has been underscored in the literature by researchers such as Fleming (1983), Astin (1982), and Olivas (1986). Campbell (cited in Morgan, 1993) commented that the barriers to minority student success included a lack of financial aid, lowered expectations by both faculty and students, lack of peer support and a lack of natural mentors. Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) found in their research that student contact with faculty outside of class had significant effects. Students who interacted more frequently with faculty were more likely to remain in college, and have higher educational aspirations, better attitudes toward college, higher academic achievement, and more personal development. Tinto (1987) found that students who had a higher level of social and academic integration with the institution were less likely to leave because the social system provided them with needed support.

For Black and Hispanic students, this social system may not exist, especially at predominantly White institutions. The void results from dearth of Black and Hispanic faculty, administrators, and students. It underscores the need for Black and Hispanic role models to provide natural mentoring and assist students in developing the social and academic integration needed for degree completion (Morgan, 1983). Further, Staples (1984) reported that the support and understanding needed by Black students at the graduate school level was not available. They often had formal relationships with faculty and some peers, but rarely socialized. This placed Black graduate students at a disadvantage when they sought academic positions. Staples' study concluded that the university was one more monument to racial inequality that must be dismantled before the ideal of equal opportunity could be a reality for all Americans.

Moore and Wagstaff (1974) conducted research on Black women in higher education and found them to be at the bottom of the educational

hierarchy and the subjects of racial and sexual discrimination at all levels of academic life. Carter and Wilson (1992) recently reported similar findings for minorities in general. They found some evidence that colleges and universities were not maximizing opportunities to hire qualified and available minority candidates. They also found that minorities were more likely to consider a career in higher education upon degree completion than their White counterparts. These data raise concerns about the limited number of faculty of color across disciplines, and particularly about Black and Hispanic women, given that their degree completion has increased over time, as has their employment in non-teaching/administrative positions. This issue is examined next.

### EXPERIENCES OF BLACK AND HISPANIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Black and Hispanic professionals often find themselves overburdened with several tasks not necessarily required of their White counterparts. The demand for representation on affirmative action committees, search committees, and other faculty and administrative advisory or task forces detracts from their time and energy to pursue scholarly work. The expectations for success in the academy are unclear and often lead to ambiguity about what really matters for tenure and promotion. Carter and Wilson (1992) suggest that departments must ensure that minority faculty have the same amount of responsibility for the care and support of students as do other faculty. They further suggest that institutions must provide resources to support minority faculty and opportunities for professional development and networking to enhance their careers.

Banks (1984) and Menges and Exum (1983) point to the need and demand for Blacks to respond to the legitimate concerns of Black students. However faculty and administrators in general fail to understand the importance of this function among the many facets of academic life that create a different reality for Black and White female students.

The perception of many academics that women and men of color are less qualified, less capable, and a product of affirmative action, leads to feelings of isolation and pressure to be twice as good or to do twice as much to combat the pervasive racism and sexism.

The pressures of isolation, managing multiple and sometimes

conflicting roles, and negotiating the promotion and tenure evaluation process, can be a major problem, according to Menges and Exum (1983), because minorities are not always a part of the informal social groups in which peer feedback and recommendations can be gathered. The evaluation process is subjective, value-laden, traditional, and deeply ingrained in those adhering to it (Menges & Exum, 1983; Banks, 1984).

Black women administrators, as reported by Williams (1986) and Hoskins (1978), have even less of a possibility for success. They are usually at the lower end of the hierarchy, paid lower salaries than male counterparts, less likely to be promoted from within, slightly older, more likely to be single, engaged in little scholarly writing, performing slightly different tasks from their male counterparts, and not expected to assume the college presidency as their next position. This was echoed in more recent studies conducted by the Hispanic Women's Leadership Conference concerning Hispanas.

Nieves-Squires (1991) outlined a number of assumptions and myths about non-Hispanic views and perceptions of Hispanas. She asserted that cultural patterns and differences go unnoticed by mainstream higher education. The perception of Hispana students as retiring and shy, on one hand, and the perception of Hispanic faculty as proud aggressive go-getters, on the other, lead to conflicts in evaluating and negotiating the education system. Different cultural reactions to feminine identification, such as punishment for being too shy or too aggressive, deter success. The many erroneous assumptions about Hispanas in higher education interfere with their development as professionals and promotion within the ranks. Perceptions that Hispanas are not as expressively clear as Anglos contribute to a dismissal of their views, opinions, and presence. Often people believe Hispanas' social life exists entirely within the Hispanic community, and therefore do not include them in non-Hispanic functions.

In a recent article, De La Luz Reyes and Halcon (1991) argue that Chicano experiences with racism in higher education can be described as "academic colonialism." They go on to comment that the growing number of underemployed and unemployed Hispanic with doctoral degrees is an indication of Hispanics' limited access to full participation in the educational system. The authors found four categories of discrimination experienced by Chicanos and other minority groups: a type-casting syndrome, tokenism, a one-minority-per-pot syndrome, a brown-on-brown research taboo, and the hairsplitting concept. Each was viewed as a derogatory, condescending principle espoused by majority

faculty members that serves as a barrier to equality and access for Chicanos and other minority groups.

All these types of discrimination contribute to the continued difficulties faced by Black and Hispanic women in higher education as they seek to become teachers. They also negatively affect the development and progression toward degree completion of students.

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The trends discussed in this chapter are not new to higher education, and they speak to the lack of progress over time. While the number of Black and Hispanic women may have increased in some sectors of the higher education system, women's full involvement has been impeded by social, cultural, and economic factors. To address these obstacles, institutions must acknowledge that Black and Hispanic women have different experiences from their White counterparts, and develop support programs to counteract the institutional and individual racism and sexism that many minority women experience. Institutions of higher education must recommit to affirmative action and diversity, not just in hiring and admissions practices, but in retention, degree completion, tenure, and promotion.

The recommendations put forth in the literature suggest that action-oriented plans must be developed that approach institutional racism and sexism at a number of levels. More research on Black and Hispanic women in higher education that is sensitive to the realities of their experiences, achievements, and needs must be supported.

In addition, the research conducted thus far points to the importance of mentoring, the development of peer networks, and opportunities for increased responsibility and promotion through the support of Black and Hispanic women at the same level as that offered for White male faculty and administrators. The education system, originally designed to support White males, has failed to broaden its mandate to respond to the needs of Black and Hispanic women.

Understanding the diversity of Black and Hispanic women is critical to their success. Administrators, faculty, and students need to reform current practices in teaching and policy design to reflect this diversity. Such changes would help reduce the burden and responsibility of Black and Hispanic women and men to promote diversity,

multicultural issues, and pluralism on their own.

Institutions must also help to meet the various needs of women who are poor and single heads of households. Childcare programs and financial support must be part of a higher education recruitment package. Academic support services to strengthen the basic skills of the underprepared are essential to student success. Institutional support would reduce the pressure on women of color who are faculty and administrators to meet the needs of students of color and each other.

The workload for Black and Hispanic women faculty is sufficiently heavy that consideration must be given to equalizing their advising and teaching responsibilities relative to Whites. Participation in committee work and affirmative action programs, and serving students of color as well as the culturally diverse community at large, constitute academic work that should be compensated.

Another factor to consider in the recruitment and retention of Black and Hispanic women at all levels of the academy is the need to develop networks of support for them that foster the sharing of common concerns and conditions; and the development of strong ongoing coalitions to combat racism and sexism, and to challenge the status quo. This effort requires energy and commitment, reaching beyond differences, grasping hold of commonalities, and working towards a community perspective of collaboration and unity.

In conclusion, the educational attainment of Black and Hispanic women cannot be viewed only by reviewing statistics without also considering the economic, cultural, and social implications of their status in American higher education and society at large. Strong specific programs must be implemented to ensure consistent and ongoing nurturing and care of Black and Hispanic women students, faculty, and administrators. There is a tremendous need for more Black and Hispanic women in leadership positions in higher education, and an untapped pool of talent is waiting to be prepared for these positions.

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